The transition of Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCs) to Community Education and Training Colleges (CETCs): Perspectives and experiences of a selection of management and lecturer staff in the greater Cape Town area

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Abstract

In 2013, the Department of Higher Education established a new institutional form for the provision of adult education, the Community Education and Training Colleges (CETCs). The growing number of unemployed youths that are not in learning institutions as well as the limited opportunities provided by the pre-existing Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCs), set the context for the transitioning of PALCs into CETCs. This transition marks one of the biggest changes to the adult education landscape historically in South Africa but has thus far been the subject of limited research.

This study focuses on the experiences and perspectives of a selection of role players of this transition, in particular, those of managers and lecturers within the greater Cape Town area. The study was situated within an interpretive research paradigm with its emphasis on experience and interpretation and adopted a case study approach. A range of documents provided background data, while the main body of data was collected via semi-structured interviews. Adopting a thematic approach, the analysis focuses on how the policy changes have affected governance, experiences of the new institutional context and perspectives on lecturer qualifications. A further focus is on the views of key role players on the purposes of the CETCs and locating these within different theoretical traditions. The analysis also explored views on the professionalization of adult education and training, and how these compare with broader conceptual approaches to professionalisation in the literature.

The study concludes that centralization of governance has had negative consequences for the management and lecturers represented in the sample and seems to be at odds with the ethos of institutional autonomy that usually characterises higher education. At the same time, the transition has presented opportunities for the CETCs to collaborate with different organisations to create skills development opportunities for their constituencies, especially for the increasing number of younger students in the CLCs. The evidence also suggests that while policies talk of CETCs continuing South Africa's historical traditions of transformative adult education, the respondents hold a more humanist view of their purpose, combined with some elements of a human capital approach. Respondents' views on professionalisation were largely instrumental, relating perhaps to continuing poor conditions of employment and scarcity of resources.

However, the passion for and deep commitment of lecturers to their work is notable and seems to offer a basis not only for a future occupational identity, but also possibly for a more transformative education to take root in the CLCs.

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Abbreviations

ABET – Adult Basic Education and Training

AET- Adult Education and Training

CETC - Community Education and Training College

CET- Community Education and Training

CBO – Community -Based Organisation

DHET - Department of Higher Education and Training

ETDP – Education and Training Development Practices

GEAR - Growth, Employment and Redistribution

NGO – Non-governmental Organisations

RDP - Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP)

PALC – Public Adult Learning Centres

SETA – Sectoral Education and Training Authority

WP-PSET- White Paper for Post-School Education and Training

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

In 2013, the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) published a White Paper for Post-School Education and Training (WP-PSET) announcing that Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCs) would be transferred from the Provincial Education Departments (PEDs) to the Department of Higher Education and Training. This led to other developments including publication of various policy documents, name change, establishing new institutions, a National Senior Certificate for adults, and setting up entry requirements for lecturers, thus signalling professionalization. These mark one of the biggest policy shifts in adult education since the Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) Act 52 of 2000. It formed part of capacity building of the adult education sector that was intended to address issues that had plagued the sector for a long time - funding, infrastructure, educator training and governance. It is these developments that sparked this study.

In South Africa there is limited information on educators in [1] the Adult Education Training (AET) Sector. The Task Team Report on Community Education and Training Colleges (CETCs) (Potgieter-Gqubule, Cosser, Chaka, Raphotle, Aitchison, Baatjes and Pillay, 2012) indicates inadequacy of trained practitioners, poor career prospects and poor conditions of service particularly for the lower-level practitioners. This study focuses on the experiences and perspectives of a section of role players implementing the transition to CETCs, in particular, managers and lecturers within the greater Cape Town area. The key questions explored were:

(i) What are the Managers and Lecturers' experiences as they transition from PALCs to Community Education and Training Colleges (CETCs)?

(ii) What are their different perspectives on the purposes of adult learning in the context of the new CETCs?

(iii) How do their perspectives on CETCs reflect different approaches of professionalization?

[1] The SSP of ETDP SETA (2012/3) has quite a bit of data on adult educators and their qualifications. DHET has an EMIS that holds some of this data.

This introductory chapter will review the historical development of adult and community education in South Africa and introduce in more detail the legislative changes that brought into being the current Community Education and Training Colleges, in order to show the origins of the research question.

ADULT EDUCATION BEFORE 1994

The history of adult education in South Africa has been influenced politically and economically, by colonialization, industrialisation, apartheid, democracy, and through the economic policies of the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), This section of the chapter will begin by reviewing some of the historical traditions of adult education under apartheid and will also consider the training of adult educators prior to 1994.

KEY HISTORICAL TRADITIONS OF ADULT EDUCATION

Missionary Education

Formal education for Africans was introduced by missionaries before the turn of the 19th century as a means of converting Africans to Christianity. Peires (1989: xiv) in his book recounting the Xhosa Cattle killing 'movement' of 1856 - 1857, speaks of Christians, waverers and unbelievers. It was the first converts to Christianity that sent their children to school when the missionaries opened schools. As a result, being literate was analogous to Christianity and set the 'heathens' and Christians apart. According to Bird (1984:193) and Govender and Fatal (2015:2), missionary education was not accessible to most and thus had little effect in perpetuating the ideologies of the colonisers, and these were ultimately imposed by use of force. However, it later produced an African elite, such as the leadership of the Africa National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) founding fathers (Govender and Fatal, 2015:2). The education offered by the missionaries emphasised the same quality and curriculum for Africans as the colonial schools with the hope that they would create equal opportunities for both as citizens of the colony (Govender et.al, 2015:2).

Between 1921 when the International Socialist League (ISL) "fought to launch the Communist Party of South Africa" to 1953 when the Government instituted the

Bantu Education Act, there emerged three different contrasting night school/adult education traditions: the collective action tradition, the liberal literacy tradition and the second-chance schooling tradition, with the collective action education and the second-chance schooling tradition working on opposite sides of the law.

The Collective Action Tradition – 1921 – 1928

According to Bird (1984:194), it was the early Communist Party (CP) that first challenged the racist ideologies and under the leadership of Thibedi and then Moses Kotane, started the trade union movement thus providing structure to black resistance in South Africa with an emphasis of developing African leadership. Beginning in 1921/22 (Bird, 1984:194) the Communist Party of South Africa's night schools recognised that the fight for workers' rights should not be exclusive to whites but should also include the African workers that were working under the worst conditions. The night schools offered reading, writing and arithmetic and held an occasional lecture and debates on working class issues (Bird, 1984:196). The party schools continued to grow in student numbers whilst having to contend with police harassment and Pass Laws that made it difficult for the students to attend. Other issues the party schools struggled included poor physical infrastructure, and they were taught by white comrades that were no experts in teaching although they "improved as they went along" (Bird, 1984:196). The history of radical adult education is traced from this period where adult education became part of the struggle against apartheid, and as noted by Aitchison (2003:127), it re-emerged in 1970s.

Liberal Tradition 1930s

A shift in focus from the collective action tradition to a liberal response occurred in the 1930s (Bird 1984:198) emphasising individualist skills development and aimed at adapting Africans to modern and European ways (Bird, 1984:199). Two outcomes of this tradition were the African College and the Mayibuye Night Schools. These schools were replicated in other regions, were run by teachers and university students, and aimed to equip students for employment.

The Second World War increased demand for black skilled workers and hence the need for adult education and training to meet the demands of the war economy. Bird adds that during this time pass laws were relaxed giving hope of democratisation. However, the democratisation did not happen, but different organisations mostly led by the South Africa Institute for Race Relations (SAIRR) advocated for funded

Christian education to deal with the "burden of illiteracy" (Bird, 1984:201). Their training offered in the mine compounds, focusing on skills training (Bird, 1984:205) this ensured the survival of this tradition during apartheid.

Bantu – Education and Second -Chance Tradition 1948 - 1976

Any hope of strengthening adult education, especially the radical education of the 1920's or left-wing leanings, was thwarted in 1948 when the National Party came into power and introduced apartheid. In 1953 the Bantu Education Act was passed bringing control of education of Black people under control of government (Bird, 1984:205). This legislation required that all centres that were offering black adult education be registered. Approval was only granted if they were administered by White/European people (Aitchison, 2003:130). Secondly it defined adult learners as anyone above the age of 16, employed and in need of basic education. This Bird noted excluded younger learners and those not employed. Thirdly it set out that the subjects had to be the same as those offered in mainstream schools.

Although a number of night schools in white areas including some that had met government approval were closed, some continued to operate unofficially in the townships (Bird, 1984:208) with the support of university students. Further developments in the sixties saw an opportunity for the growth in adult education with different education orientations, with the establishment of the Bureau of Literacy and Literature (BLL) and the South African Committee for Higher Education (SACHED). The BLL's objectives were to train literacy teachers and develop literacy materials "to foster literacy by training personnel in the techniques which were being evolved to make adults literate in the shortest possible time…" (Bird, 1984:209). The government later cancelled grants for the BLL and focused on increasing literacy in mine-compounds.

Return of the Collective Action Tradition 1960s - 1990s.

The South African Committee for Higher Education (SACHED) was politically progressive and formed to assist students that were expelled from the University of Fort Hare on political grounds. Although SACHED started as a provider of learner support for Black students, its work evolved to various other learning initiatives that included transformative adult and worker education, and it was instrumental in the 1976 June 16 students uprising (Nonyongo, 1998:11). SACHED played a major role

in distributing materials as part of the progressive literacy movement in the 70s – 90s.

The mid-sixties also introduced a number of churches and religious groups that developed Black leadership; These churches introduced workshops and courses that were based on training methods pioneered in the United States (Aitchison, 2003:133). It was one religious' group, the radical University Christian Movement, which started circulating Paulo Freire's work to Black students. Paulo Freire's books resonated with the students' experiences of banking education and of Bantu education and its political purpose. Freire's work marked the return of radical education that had been begun by the Communist Party, but this time it was driven by students through the South African Students' Organisation (SASO) which operated under the auspices of the Black Consciousness Movement. The actions of the BCM and SASO were short lived when they were banned in the aftermath of the 1976 student uprising and death of its leader, Steve Bantu Biko in 1977.

Up to 1994 the state's adult education provision was administered through racially segregated regional offices under a renamed Department of Education and Training. The state still required that the provision of adult education outside of the state be registered. This included mostly second chance learning for adults that had had no schooling or had dropped out of school. In additional to the night schools that government initiated, the Manpower Training Act 56 of 1981, legislated labour training and set up subsidies to companies that provided training. According to Aitchison (2003:144) this led to the growth of a number of training centres and schemes. By the 1980s there was a 'boom' of adult education provision mostly by NGOs that was mostly funded by international donors (Aitchison, 2003).

TRAINING OF ADULT EDUCATORS UNDER APARTHEID

This section looks at the training of educators of adult learners' pre-1994. The relevance of this section is that it illustrates the necessity for the policies on minimum requirements for adult educators.

Most educators of adult learners, especially those that worked in state-provided adult education also worked as teachers in mainstream schools. At the beginning of the transition to democracy in South Africa, the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) report on Adult Basic Education (1992:22) observed that in general:

- The scale of training of adult educators was too small to make any significant impact.
- Teacher-training programmes generally trained in the use of a particular package rather than improving teaching skills.
- Most teachers worked part-time teaching adults but had full-time work commitments.

Additionally, there was a history volunteerism of teaching in the adult education sector by university students as shown above, and by people with Matric. The NEPI report (1993:18) pointed out that training of adult educators was short, in most cases lasting for only for a week or two, and with an automatic in-service training which in some cases teachers had to locate for themselves. This contrasted with schoolteacher training.

One of the most important elements of adult education provision in the 1980s was that offered by NGOs that took a Freirean approach that saw the purpose of literacy as 'conscientisation'. The NEPI report (1993:22) found that those that taught this approach were not adequately trained which meant that their education provision was disempowering for adult learners.

According to 1993 NEPI report and Aitchison (2003:141), it was in the 1980s that some universities began to provide a radical approach adult educator training. These were the University of Western Cape, University of Cape Town, Witwatersrand, and University of Natal. The University of Cape Town offered the first postgraduate diploma for adult educators and the University of Natal its first Advanced Diploma in Adult Education in 1984 (Aitchison, 2003:141). In the 90s there were various train-the-trainer courses offered by NGOs, correspondence colleges, and in-house training by major companies.

The table below shows different adult educator levels working in various adult educator providers:

Table 1: Adult Educators Education levels

Sector	STD 5-7	STD8-10	Tertiary	None	Sample
State	0	411	16	0	427
Industry	3	347	40	0	390
NGO	86	752	737	40	1951
Total	89	1510	793	40	2768

Source: (NEPI, 1992:22)

These figures reflected the state's policy prior to 1992 of employing people with Matric to teach in adult education in different sectors. NEPI notes that the high figures from the NGO sector are reflective of the sector attracting committed volunteer teachers that valued the work as service over income.

In concluding this section, the information presented above by no means covers the full picture of adult education pre-1994. However, it provides an overview of three traditions of adult education in South Africa, namely, (i) radical/ collective action education of the early 1920s and 70s; (ii) liberal education of the 1930s that aimed to assimilate Black people to urban life, and which also included the Laubach Christian education model/ basic literacy; and (iii) second chance learning that was provided by night schools run by the state. The philosophy guiding the education of adults in South Africa has always oscillated between the view that higher levels of education lead to economic growth, and the view of education as crucial for social change as we have seen with CP and BCM/SASO. Different adult education provision was aimed at addressing these be it literacy provided by the different private companies and mining houses, non-formal education provided by NGOs that covered various educational topics from language proficiency to learning about democracy, or Freirean approaches that were aimed at political conscientisation against apartheid. This section also highlighted the conditions that adult education survived under, namely poor infrastructure, inadequately trained educators as illustrated by the table above, and as Bird put it volunteers that "improved as they went along", and minimal funding. This was the adult education that the 1994 democratic government inherited.

The following section will review some of the key policy developments that affected the adult education sector in the post-apartheid period.

ADULT EDUCATION POST 1994

Since 1994 education reforms have carried two themes that speak to both a transformative approach as well as a human capital approach. Phrases such as redress, access, employment and skilling of both youth and unemployed adults, can be found in all the different policy documents pertaining to education, ranging from the Education Act 100 of 1997 to the White Paper for the Post–School Education and Training of 2013. This section looks at Adult Basic Education post 1994, how policies developed and implemented affected its provision and how these have influenced the current Adult Basic Education (ABE) development.

The first economic policy under the democratic government, the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) of 1994 to 1996, was informed by values of social justice, and adopted a redistributive agenda (Baatjes and Mathe, 2004:400). Adult Basic Education (ABE) was viewed with the same level of importance as housing, unemployment, health, water and with the potential to play a role in social development and in 'redistribution of life chances' (Baatjes and Mathe, 2004:401). Only one mass literacy initiative was undertaken under the RDP programme, the Ithuteng campaign, in 1997 which Aitchison (2003:152) states was rooted in the political and social analysis of living conditions and the poor's extensive social problems. However, the RDP was abandoned for the more neo-liberal-oriented economic policy of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) in 1996. According to Baatjes and Baatjes (2008) this signalled a perspective shift away from ABE for social change to ABE for economic growth contradicting and competing in nature to the first.

In 1995 the establishment of the Directorate of Adult Education and Training was viewed as expressing government's commitment and empathy with the unemployed and inadequately educated youth and adults (Baatjes and Mathe, 2004:401). However, Aitchison (2003:151) felt this demonstrated government's lacklustre commitment to ABE as it took a year before the position of the Director was filled. Not only that, but the directorate was also understaffed and underfinanced so that it could not meet any of its targets (Aitchison, 2003:152).

The addition of a 'T' to ABE in the Adult Education Act of 2000, making it 'Adult Basic Education and Training', was viewed critically. According to Baatjes et.al (2004), this indicated a drastic shift that contradicted government's initial stance in

supporting ABE as a mechanism to "promote political participation in civic and governmental affairs" (Baatjes et.al , 2004:401). Both Aitchison (2003) and Baatjes et.al (2004) pointedly attribute the T in ABE to the unions doing it in order to prioritise education for skills rather than for emancipation. COSATU, according to Aitchison (2003:168) also argued for general education and later the formalization of adult education in form of accreditation, and articulation as they believed that workplace skills would lead to greater workers' power. For both Aitchison (2003) and Baatjes et.al (2004) this shift of focus indicated a shift from prioritising redress and redevelopment to prioritising skills development.

Thus, policy development continued emphasising skills development, influenced by international trends that favoured "competency-based training standards and qualifications" (Aitchison, 2003:154). Competency-based approaches have been mostly criticised because they rely on and attach a great deal of importance to performance over knowledge and understanding, and artificially separate the mental and physical components of performance (Hyland, 1993 in Ramirez, 2012).

PUBLIC ADULT LEARNING CENTRES (PALCs)

The PALCs were intended to be the sites of growth for ABET (Aitchison, 2003:160). As mentioned earlier a lot of work went into policy development in recognition of the failure and limits of night-schools.

The following new policies were introduced:

- Education White Paper of March 1995
- 1995 Interim Guidelines for a National Adult Education and training Framework
- 1996 Establishment of nine provincial ABET Directorates.
- 1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training, replacing the Interim guidelines, was implemented with the Multi Year Implementation Plan. (Aitchison, 2003:154)

The above policies led to the transformation of night-schools into PALCS. According to the 1997 policy document (Department of Education, 1997b:28) the PALCs would serve community and learners' needs. The government would also address governance and administration, staff remuneration as well as its monitoring and evaluation. The assessment of the effectiveness of the transition into PALCs was mixed and will be discussed later in this section. Between 1998 and 1999 there were other policy changes which included the introduction of a stakeholder representative structure for PALCs (Baatjes and Mathe, 2004:403).

According to the Parliamentary Monitoring Group (PMG) (2002) the PALCs still maintained some of the features of the night schools before 1994, for example, their curriculum was based on the school curriculum. The ABET Act introduced Governing bodies, an element of autonomy in fund raising and management, and a stronger obligation than before on the provincial Members of Executive Council for Education to support ABET (PMG, 2002). The PMG (2002) states that despite the inadequacies of these centres, they had some advantages such as being located within communities, secure budgets, paid educators, solid learning paths that were understood by the communities, solid organisational structures and they were mostly used by learners taking a second chance at matric.

According to Baatjes and Mathe (2004:406), policy Development post 1994 indicated the formalisation of ABE. This included a basic policy for ABET materials, the introduction and registration of unit-standard- based qualification at NQF level 1 (after completing 4 levels of ABET) which would allow learners to proceed to mainstream school education.

In addition to these policies, government also introduced other policies aimed at improving worker education in the workplace such as the Skills Development Act of 1998 (SDA). The Sectoral Education Training Authorities (SETAs) represent different economic sectors that were mandated to implement the SDA.

In conclusion, a lot of funding and energy was put into policy development for ABET, but according to Aitchison (2003) the sector has not improved much from what it had inherited from the Apartheid government. Although still seen as vehicle for social change, ABET has been unable to serve those that have needed it most, beyond second - chance schooling and ad-hoc skills training, even though it had the potential to do so. ABET has been marred by inadequate funding and lack of resources and infrastructure. Rule argues that:

> Government funding for adult basic education is less than 1% of the total education budget in a country where four and a half million adults have never been to school. Provincial (education departments) allocated money they receive from the national budget. Thus, while the overall amount for ABE might increase at a national level, this does not necessarily translate into increased provincial spending for ABET, especially in percentage terms (Rule, 2006:124).

Rule (2006) asserts that this is evidence of a decline of government's commitment to ABET from 2000. Baatjes and Mathe (2004:405) argues that this lack of financial commitment extended to governments' own literacy campaigns and the National Multi-Year Implementation Plan of 1997 which required 18 billion Rand over five years.

FROM PALCS TO COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND TRAINING COLLEGES

The sub-section below looks at three further policies that pertain to Adult Education and Training: The White Paper for Post-School Education and Training of 2013, the Community Education and Training Act of 2006 (Act 16 of 2006) and the Policy on Minimum Requirements for Programmes Leading to Qualifications for Educators and Lecturers in Adult and Community Education and Training (2013). These form part of government's prioritisation, strengthening and expansion of the further education and training sector through the creation of CETCs. First however, I take a brief look at one of the most developed community college systems internationally: the American Community College system.

The American Community College System

This section focuses on the United States community college model and focuses on how it is structured. Different countries have adopted the US Community College model not only as a means of expanding education as an alternative to expanding existing universities, but also simultaneously differentiating tertiary (Grubb, 2006:27). The relevance of this section in this study is to see what parts of the US model could be adapted to the SA context. Zuma (1996:314) notes South Africa contemplated community colleges as a means of expanding education provision alongside other formal education institutions which would accommodate industry and other training.

Community colleges in the US first opened 100 years ago (Cohen, 2009:39). They are accessible to people without university admission and who cannot afford to live far from home. The admission process is easy for all courses, except for a few technological programmes. The colleges offer developmental, community and collegiate education, each meeting particular community needs. Developmental education is designed for students that leave high school with or without diplomas and have failed to learn skills necessary for further education or maintaining employment in most basic jobs (Cohen, 2009:43).

Collegiate Education is the college–level programs for students that intend transferring to a university or planning to enter the workforce. The focus of the program is the liberal arts which accounts for 50% of the curriculum, maths, computer science, business trade, industry and technical education which makes up to 35% of the curriculum (Cohen, 2009:46).

Community education encompasses a variety of special services with a few that carry college credits. These include basic adult education, continuing occupational workforce education, lifelong learning, and other types of cooperative arrangement with other community arrangements along with training provided for prison systems and for particular industries (Cohen, 2009:44).

Cohen (2009:47) asserts that community colleges will continue to grow and thrive as there is a huge demand for them. Countries operating this model have adapted it to local peculiarities such as social and humanitarian realities.
This chapter now turns to look at legislation related to the establishment of CETCs.

The White Paper for Post-School Education and Training (WP-PSET) of 2013

The WP-PSET (2013) established various post-school institutions including Community Education and Training Colleges (CETCs). The growing number of unemployed youths that are not in learning institutions as well as the limited opportunities provided by PALCs for adults, set the context for the transitioning of PALCs into Community Education and Training Colleges (CETCs). The CETCs are mandated to provide a diverse range of opportunities for study to people for whom vocational and technical colleges are not possible.

As part of the implementation process, the Department of Higher Education and Training oversees: the clustering of the PALCs to form CETCs and the expansion of the system; governance and management issues; funding, appointment of staff and more importantly related to this study, institutional development and capacity building (WP-PSET, 2013:23).

The Continuing Education and Training Act of 2006 (Act No.16 of 2006) & the National Policy on Community Education and Training Colleges

The CET Act (2006) revoked the Adult Education and Training Act of 2000 implying that the 2006 Act is the only legislation governing the Community Education and Training Colleges (Department of Higher Education and Training, 2015). According to Baatjes and Baatjes (2008:5):

> "The Further Education and Training Colleges Amendment Act, No. 1 of 2013, was signed into law in March 2013. It amends the Further Education and Training Colleges Act (2006) and repeals the Adult Basic Education and Training Act of 2000. It amends the Further Education and Training Colleges Act in order to provide for the inclusion of a second type of institution (CETC) within the existing framework".

The policy sets a framework for the transition of Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCs) from the Provincial Education Departments (PEDs) to the Department of Higher Education. The transition or migration came into effect form the 1st of April 2015.

The Policy on Minimum Requirements Leading to Qualifications for Educators and Lecturers in Adult and Community Educations and Training (2013)

The Government Gazette of March 2015 which prioritised the strengthening and development of CETCs recognised that this will not be possible if most adult educators hold no formal qualifications – or inadequate qualifications - in adult education. The Policy on Minimum Requirements Leading to Qualifications for Educators and Lecturers in Adult and Community Educations and Training (Higher Education Act and National Qualifications Framework, 2008) addresses the absence of a defined qualification framework for adult educators in the past. It sets minimum

qualification requirements for those adult educators working in CLCs and curriculum guidelines for training programmes leading to qualifications.

The policy replaces all qualifications formerly recognised and approved for teaching in Adult Education and Training (AET) and CETCs. The new qualifications begin with an entry level qualification, a higher certificate in Adult Education which will introduce students to adult education concepts (Government Gazette, 2015:16). Students can proceed from this NQF level 5 entry level qualifications to level 10 which is a PhD. These qualifications will require specialization of knowledge (which was lacking in some previous adult education qualifications), pedagogical knowledge (adult education theories), practical skills and work -based experience. The entry requirements will also consider work experience through the RPL process, as most adult educators have worked in the sector for long time.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed the history of adult education and provided background to different adult education traditions from the 1920s to post 1994. Although there has been some development since 1994, up until recent years very little seems to have changed from what was inherited from the apartheid government. Inadequate funding, poor infrastructure, limited curriculum, and inadequately trained educators have been problems that have historically plagued the sector. The introduction of new policies aims to address these issues.

The transition from PALCs to CETCs presents an important moment for research on the Adult Education and Training sector as this has been the biggest and most ambitious change to date. New policies are intended to address the challenges the sector has faced over the years, and they create new opportunities for research into curriculum, educational collaborations and the professionalisation of adult educators. Very little research has been done thus far on this transition and thus it constitutes the key focus of this study.

The main questions posed in this research is:

What are the perspectives and experiences of managers and lecturers of the transition from Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCs) to Community Education and Training Colleges?

The sub-questions are:

(i) What are managers' and lecturers' experiences as they transition from PALCs to CETCs?

(ii) What are their different perspectives on the purposes of adult learning in the context of the new CETCs?

(iii) How do their perspectives on CETCs reflect different approaches of professionalization?

The following chapter looks at how the different purposes of adult education have been theorised, and also reviews literature on professionalization.

Chapter 3 deals with research methods and design.

Chapters 4 and 5 present the findings of the research, while Chapter 6 discusses these findings and draws conclusions.

CHAPTER 2: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter introduces two aspects of the conceptual framework for this thesis. First, it looks first at different perspectives on the purposes of adult education, and this will be drawn on to inform the conceptual framework of the two first research questions. Secondly, it explores definitions of professionalization and examines Portugal's professionalization of adult educators. This provides a comparative view of how policy has influenced adult educators' experiences and is drawn on in the later analysis to inform the third research question dealing with views on professionalization.

Different Perspectives on the Purposes of Adult Learning

All these theories have contributed in one way or another to public education policies. South African education policies speak of redress, equality, lifelong learning and social change but also link adult education to training, work and employability. This research aims to explore which of these perspectives are currently most dominant amongst key role players as the transition from PALCs to CETCs is made.

HUMANIST THEORIES OF LEARNING

Humanist theories rest on the belief that learning is a personal act to fulfil one's potential. Humanist learning theorists such as Huitt 2001 (in Barnachea 2014) believe humans act with intentionality and values. While Maslow believed that the desire to learn was intrinsic, Rogers found similarities between psychotherapy and education as both drivers for self-discovery and personal change (Barnachea, 2014:16). Both theorists were discouraged by the earlier focus of the cognitivist approaches that excluded feelings and emotions in education.

Maslow (1970) based his theory of learning on a proposed hierarchy of needs and posited that people first satisfied lower order needs – which were physiological in character (hunger, safety, shelter) before they satisfied the higher-order needs,

referred to as growth needs (belonging, self-actualisation, self-esteem) which he believed could influence behaviour (Merriam et.al, 2012:28). For Maslow, the purpose of self-actualisation was to learn and grow, and this should also be the focus for educators. But not only limited to that, there were a list of other goals of self-actualisation that could be oriented to help students/learners discover their destiny (Merriam, 2012:282). The humanistic theory approach engages social skills, feelings, intellect, artistic skills, practical skills, and more as part of their education. Self-esteem, goals, and full autonomy are key learning elements in the humanistic learning theory. Maslow believed that development of human potential, dignity and worth were ultimate concern (Merriam, 2012:282). Maslow and Rogers' views were later integrated in other theories of learning. Maslow's humanist approach to learning has been criticised for being individualistic and elitist as individuals existed in the context of society (Pearson and Podeschi, 1997).

HUMAN CAPITAL THEORY

This theory focuses on the economic value of skills, training and technology. Globally, the theory has been adopted by governments in their drive towards economic growth. The theory emphasizes earnings and economic growth just as feudalism emphasized land (Brown, 2001: 3). Baatjes and Mathe (2004:396) posit that the theory supports the belief that literacy will have distinct economic benefits by increasing the productivity of those who work with the newly literate and those that supervise them (Torres 1990 in Baatjes and Mathe, 2004:396).

Human capital formation thus involves investing in education systems that focus on developing people's competencies, skills, knowledge and values to enable them to move across jobs from one sector of the economy to another and even from one country to another. Additionally, the more a person adds to their skills or qualifications the higher their potential earnings. This is also equated with owning one's own means of production, borrowing from the Marxist narrative (Brown, Green and Lauder, 2001:3).

The heuristics of the theory to economic growth remains to be seen despite attempts to prove it. However, there has been increase in service and professional activities such as marketing, communications, administration and non-productive jobs but

decrease in production jobs because for each single production worker there is a need for 21 non-production workers (Brown et al, 2001:3). Brown et al (2001:3) goes on to say that "the expansion of higher education from an elite to mass provider is explained in terms of exponential increase in scientific and technical knowledge, which has led to greater investment in human capital to supply the technical, professional and managerial workers required in the shift to post-industrial societies" (Brown et al, 2001:3). Human Capital is seen as a miracle drug that will level the playing field addressing and avowing major dialogue relating to inequalities (Brown et al, 2001:6). Brown concludes by pointing out that Human Capital Theory is treated like a 'one size fits all' solution that has applicability in first as well as in third world countries: "It is indifferent to national history, culture and identities because it conforms to the universal laws of economic development" (Brown et al, 2001:5).

Criticism against this theory is that it blames individuals for their lack of advancement, leads to social inequalities and compromises pedagogy among other things (Vally & Motala, 2014). Baatjes et.al (2004:397) add that it ignores forces such as unequal power or structural barriers to explain human and social behaviour. These, unequal power and structural barriers are the focus of the Transformative learning theories.

TRANSFORMATIVE/EMANCIPATORY PEDAGOGY

Advocates of transformative education argue against prioritising education for economic motives alone. Transformative or emancipatory pedagogy is linked to Popular Education and based on Paulo Freire's beliefs that education liberates, allowing people to critically reflect upon their world and to act to change society towards a more equitable and just vision. Thus, education is seen as a vehicle for social change. Baatjes and Mathe (2004:397) argue that this paradigm is driven by the belief that people living in unjust situations can change their lives through collective actions.

Mezirow (2003) strand of this tradition focuses more on the individual and how they make sense of their life experiences. According to Mezirow (2003), learning is a process of making new meaning from old interpretations to guide future action.

These interpretations could be about the individual or about others. As such transformative learning happens when there is transformation in beliefs or attitudes (meaning scheme) or perspective (habit of mind),

> the process by which we transform our taken for granted frames of reference (meaning schemes, habits of mind, mindsets) to make them more inclusive, discriminating, open, emotionally capable of change and reflective so that they may generate beliefs and opinions that they prove truer or justified to guide action… (Mezirow in Merriam et.al, 2012:133).

Being critical of purposes, values and beliefs and solidarity with others is at the heart of both Mezirow's and Freire's transformative learning.

> Personal transformation leads to alliances with others of like mind to work toward effecting necessary changes in relationships, organisation, and systems, each of which requires a different mode of praxis (Merriam et.al, 2012:135).

Freire's transformative learning has been criticised for overlooking the self and personal awareness that the person needs before they are able to engage with the external world.

> He (Freire) tends to avoid or gives minimal attention to the deep analytical challenge associated with personal transformation, such as its inherent emotive nature, the emphasis on personal self-awareness, and the need to resolve past life issues. (Taylor and Cranton, 2012:11)

Theorists of this persuasion argue for transformation-oriented education for AET as they believe it is a vehicle for social justice and political inclusion. This is antithetical to human capital theory which is elite-focused.

PROFESSIONALIZATION

Adult education has been difficult to professionalize, and scholars have attributed this to lack of common vision, identity and the marginalization of adult education. Bierema (2011:27); Jarvis (2004) and Mpofu (2003) have noted that adult education is not sufficiently understood by society and is often mistaken for adult literacy and according to Forsyth and Danisiewicz (1985) this is essential for professionalisation for an occupation. Shanahan, Meehan and Mogge (1994:1) noted that the dearth of empirical support makes it hard for policymakers to make decisions regarding training of fulltime professional educators. Most research tended to be "atheoretical in nature and based on a series of unstated premises" that they find both baffling but still informative (Shanahan et.al, 1994:1). To address these issues, definitions and conceptualizations of professionalization will be delved into below.

DEFINING AND CONCEPTUALISING PROFESSIONALIZATION

The British dictionary defines professionalisation as a process of imposing status or professional structure. The concept is traced to the Latin word *profiteri* which means 'a public pronouncement of certain principles and intentions and devotion to a certain way of life' (Bierema, 2011:29). These principles and intentions are in the form of qualifications, certification, a code of conduct and other activities. The term professionalization has been alternatively used to refer to or include process, practice, attitude, status, power, identity, conditions of work, and competence. Evans et al. (1985) argue that there is no consensus on the meaning of professionalism, as it is "not some social-scientific absolute, but a historically changing and socially constructed concept in use, …constantly being redefined in different ways at different times to serve different interests" (Evans, 2008:3). These different times and interests provide context for policy-driven professionalization.

Evans (2009:3) asserts that professionalization is "those strategies and rhetoric employed by members of an occupation in seeking to improve status, salary and conditions" (Hoyle, 1975 in Evans, 2008:3). Both Jarvis (2004) and Brown et al (2012) state that as occupations professionalize,

> .. they undergo a sequence of structural changes involving the establishment of training institutions, formation of professional organisations and mastery of theoretical knowledge and skills involved in professional practice" (Brown et al, 2012:6).

This definition links with Bierema (2011:29) and Forsyth and Danisiewicz's (1985:66) concept of socialization as the underlying the process of professionalization, and educational institutions are one example of sites where students are socialised. Forsyth et al (1985) address the concept of anticipatory socialization which they explain as a "practice or taking over the beliefs and values of a group to which one does not belong, but which one is preparing to enter or belong" (Forsyth et al, 1985:66:67).

Bierema's concept of professional socialisation involves

> Building specialised knowledge and skills, incorporating a sense of occupational identity, internalizing the norms of the profession and adapting the values and norms into individual behaviour and self-concept (Bierema, 2011:29).

For Shanahan et al (1994:2) professionalization speaks to certification and licensure although it cannot be defined by them. They state that certification refers to a standard of knowledge for entry into a field and is sometimes imposed by government. Licensure on the other hand can be established by members of the field. Although certification is part of professionalization Shanahan et al (1994) distinguish professionalization as preparation and continuous learning of quality teachers, whereas certification is the mechanism to enforce standards.

Bierema (2011) points out that the process of socialization can happen both formally and informally: formally through a process of qualification and informally through interaction with peers or as part of a community of practice. Forsyth et al (1985) take this further by saying that the process of socialization can happen outside of a formally organised occupation. An observation that du Tont (1995, in Bierema, 2011:29) makes, (something that Forsyth et.al also speak to), is that professionalization is a developmental process of adult socialization. It includes both recognition of an identity by society as well as by the individual and a non-deliberate self-projection that displays qualities, norms and values of the occupation. Du Tont in (Bierema, 2001:29) refers to this as internalisation.

Professional socialization leads to the creation of a new identity which for Bierema (2011) emerges as a result of formal qualifications. She acknowledges that most adult educators do not have access to formal graduate training, a point that Shanahan et.al (1994:2) also mention. It is within graduate programs, Bierema (2011) asserts, where the identity, attitude, and sense of identity is crafted and receives recognition by the society they come from (Bierema, 2011:29).

Forsythe et al (1985) developed an analysis to determine what makes occupations professions. They base their theory analysis on power or autonomy, stating that for an occupation to be a true profession, members must have both power over their work and on the service they provide. According to Forsythe et al (1985) occupations gain this power by undertaking various activities to prove their worth to the public and employer of their services. This is done by developing an ethical code, having control over entry requirements and by developing a strong knowledge base. According to Abbott 1988 (in Snoek, 2012:3) "academic knowledge legitimises professional work by clarifying its foundations and tracing them to major cultural values. In modern professions, these have been the values of rationality, logic, and science. Academic professionals demonstrate the rigor, the clarity, and the scientifically logical character of professional work …" (Abbott 1988: 54 in Snoek 2012:3). According to Shanahan et.al (1994:15) a degree is an assurance of occupational knowledge and competence.

Forsyth et al (1985) analysis has been used to determine the professionality of an occupation which applies mostly to classical occupations such as doctors and lawyers. Needless to say, very few occupations could claim professional autonomy of this kind; Snoek (2012:4) suggest that Forsyth et al (1985) analysis could be used as a frame of reference in what she calls the professional project. The professional project focuses on developing professional autonomy – ensuring that members have power over their work, control over entry requirements by choosing suitable professional development for their work, set occupational standards and develop ethical codes.

Critiques of professionalising adult education have argued that professionalization domesticates adult education, especially those forms of adult education that have a transformative focus - a point made by both Guimaraes (2009) and Evans (2008). Other critiques have raised questions as to who decides what are the most important features of professionalisation and who defines quality education, as these shape

which goals and purposes are considered important in the practice of adult education (Merriam and Brockett, 2007:1). The relevance of a study by Guimaraes (2009) below illustrates the potential for some of these problems related to professionalization, and some of the challenges experienced offer lessons from which adult educators might learn.

PROFESSIONALIZATION OF ADULT EDUCATORS IN PORTUGAL

Portugal underwent a democratic revolution in 1974 after which adult education was prioritised, and educator training later linked to different policies that favoured employability over education. Guimaraes (2009:206) states that the day after the 1974 revolution in Portugal saw the start of a number of popular movements that not only affected social life but also adult education. The revolution fuelled adult education initiatives that supported democracy, development and autonomy. These were supported by the education ministry and were characterised by peer learning and sharing and collaboration between different groups of people to ensure participation by adults. Since there was no specific adult education training during that period, people relied on the knowledge and experiences of those that had worked with communities and those who attended continuing education courses offered by the ministry to lead the new programmes (Guimaraes, 2006:207).

This period was short lived, however, after 1976 there was what Guimaraes (2009: 207) termed a 'post revolution period of capitalist normalisation'. Popular education was viewed with suspicion and thus discontinued, because the ministry that supported popular education was 'virtually paralysed' (Guimaraes, 2009: 207). The most significant shift of 1976 -1978 was the seconding of schoolteachers to adult education which indicated a view of adult education as second chance schooling, and the marginalisation of educators who were committed to popular education.

In 1979 popular education made a comeback, as preparation for the 1979 National Plan for Adult Literacy and Basic Education took place, although Guimaraes (2009: 207) points out that it was not as energetic as earlier. It considered broader issues such as reducing levels of literacy and expanding access. The plan favoured educators trained in popular education but also considered other teachers with other qualifications. Their involvement was also dependent on experience, availability,

cultural awareness and personal traits. Additionally, to these it also prioritised training government administrators that would implement these.

Despite the good intentions of the 1979 National Plan, it failed dismally; firstly, some of the initiatives were not implemented well, in fact remained only at the initial stages. Secondly, the public's opinion of adult education was quite low, and this lack of public support was listed as one of the causes of failure. Thirdly, the objectives of the policy were ambivalent, and this was portrayed by how differently the various educators implemented the policy. In addition to these this policy also highlighted the lack of institutional career paths or a plan to develop career paths for adult educators. Both schoolteachers and trainers took the lead in these programmes, but these two groups had different working conditions, with schoolteachers being formally employed and trainers working on an ad hoc basis (Guimaraes, 2009:208).

Two more policies followed in 1986 which demonstrated a lack of understanding of adult education on the part of the state. According to Guimaraes (2009:208) the second-chance education sector's aim continued to address issues of widening access and providing opportunities for adults to succeed in education. This sector fell under state education and involved mainstream schoolteachers. Using the state's schoolteachers for basic adult education implied that pedagogy was appropriate for teaching adults. Guimaraes (2009) mentions that it took ten years question the adoption of this approach over andragogy.

The out of school education sector was not prioritised in terms of human resources, learning materials or funding. Although also under the Ministry of Education, it was clustered with non-governmental education organisations and non-profit organisations. The work of these organisations focussed more on community intervention projects and socio-cultural promotion (Silva 1996 in Guimaraes, 2009:209).

The Programme for Education Development for Portugal was funded by the European Union and highlighted vocational education took off in 1989 (Guimaraes 2009:209). Thus, the focus was on developing skills which supported 'modernising the economy' by improving worker's qualifications. What was new about the programme was government involvement; Guimaraes (2009:209) points out government controlled all aspects, from project design, implementation, marketing as well as funding.

Other developments related to the training of adult educators came with this programme. Firstly, substantial funds were allocated for training of trainers in both technical and vocational training. As mentioned above regarding government involvement, these training components were organised by the Ministry of Labour and by the Employment and Vocational Institute. The focus was on addressing and improving workers qualification and modernise Portugal's economy and linked it to development of an '"appropriate educator profile" (Guimaraes, 2009:209). By 1990s adult educators in Portugal had diverse knowledge and pedagogical approaches, and as a result the Ministry of Labour prioritised the training of trainers and those who oversaw pedagogic aspects and put in place officials that were responsible for these activities.

Between 1995 and 2002, when the Knowing+ Programme was implemented aimed at relaunching adult education, there was an even further shift from a political discourse of adult education toward a more human capitalist discourse. The focus was to address skills shortages through recognition and validation of the skills and knowledge adults had acquired through informal learning (Guimaraes, 2009:211). Although there were no specific qualifications for adult educators, a social sciences degree was recognised as a minimum requirement for entry into the adult education teaching field.

Additionally, new models, methodologies and materials for pedagogical and socio-educational interventions were developed. Again, these had 'school-type content and vocational content' that were used to provide what Guimaraes terms 'competence for life' (Guimaraes, 2009:211). Guimaraes (2009) holds that this work also added criteria for the recognition, validation and certification of adult educators as officials in addition to mediators, and pedagogical coordinators. It also created different functions for these adult educators.

These changes seemed to have had more benefits than any other policy-related actions taken before. Guimaraes (2009) summarizes that this was because they 'rejuvenated the field of adult education, feminised it and led to a demand for continuing education.' Adult education attracted female, younger but less experienced trainers. Lack of experience became a concern which led to the formation of a National Agency for Adult Education and Training, whose role was to explore practices and consolidate experience and knowledge (Guimaraes, 2009:212).

The final policy that Guimaraes (2009:212) details is the 2005 New Opportunities Initiatives which seemed to continue from the Knowing Programme. These programmes were run by the National Qualification Agency which fell under the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour and Social Security. This signalled the introduction of an 'accreditation craze' (Guimaraes, 2009:212) and focus towards ensuring that both adults and youth were able to access formal education. The New Opportunities Initiatives was seen by many as successful especially if one looks at the numbers, as by 2010 million of adults and youth would have obtained a qualification. She postulates that in 2007 over 250,000 youth and adults were enrolled in different adult education initiatives, and of these 90,000 were adults (Guimaraes, 2009). This initiative also created work opportunities for adult educators. While acknowledging the strides made in adult education in Portugal, Guimaraes (2009) is critical of the manner these affected the professionalization of adult educators.

Guimaraes (2009) concludes that although adult education policies contributed to a pool of adult educators that could work in different contexts and with different qualifications. They also created a hierarchal system of adult educators with schoolteachers recognised as adult education professionals, as they were prioritised for over 30 years; vocational trainers at the bottom because their qualification was regarded as lower than a degree. Of importance were the conditions that adult educators worked under, which Guimaraes (2009) describes as precarious. Guimaraes (2009:208) lists contributing factors to the failure to fully professionalize during the first 12 years (1974 – 1986) as the inertia of public officials entrusted to implement the policies, the ambivalence of public policies, and the low status of adult education in its own eyes and the muted expression of social pressures in favour of adult education.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed theories related to the purposes of adult education, namely the humanist, transformative and human capital perspective and the extant literature on professionalization of adult education.

The section on professionalisation has covered different definitions of professionalisation that spoke to process, purpose and perceptions. These definitions have shown the fluidity of the concept of professionalization, however, there is agreement that it does not happen in a vacuum. The process definitions mentioned include introducing a qualification, certification to ensure mastering occupational theoretical foundations, and developing a shared ethical code and code of conduct. It is through the pursuit of a qualification that socialisation takes place, and with that, the taking on of occupational values, norms, beliefs, a sense of identity and occupational identity. The purposes of professionalisation have been linked to improving the occupational status, salary and the conditions of service of practitioners as well as ensuring control over entry to the profession and the creation of professional organisations. Forsythe et.al (1985) emphasise that occupations own their professionalization process by exercising power. The Guimaraes (2009) study demonstrates how politics and economic policies influence different views on the purposes of education, and also attests to the difficulties of professionalizing adult educators. This perception is shared by Evans (2008) and other authors.

As noted earlier, the literature and conceptual tools covered in this chapter provide tools for analysis in Chapters 4 and 5. The next chapter focuses on the methodological procedures followed in this study.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will start with a detailed description of the methodological approaches employed in conducting this study, followed by an overview of the research design and the methods used in sampling and data collection. The process of data analysis will then be discussed, followed by an account of how the data will be presented.

The chapter concludes with a brief discussion on the validity of the data, research ethics and of the limitations of the research.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main question guiding this research was: What are the perspectives and experiences of the different role players in the Adult Learning Sector as the Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCs) transition into Community Education and Training Colleges (CETCs)?

Sub Questions were:

(i) What are the Centre Managers and Lecturers experiences as they transition from PALCs to (CETCs)?

(ii) What are their perspectives on the purposes of CETCs?

(iii) How do their perspectives on CETCs reflect different approaches of professionalization?

BROAD METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This study is situated within an interpretive research paradigm with its emphasis on experience and interpretation. Henning (2004:21) points out that an interpretive research paradigm is concerned with meaning and aims to understand participants' interpretations and the meanings they attach to social events. An interpretive research paradigm also aims to provide a descriptive analysis that provides in-depth understanding of a social phenomenon rather than explaining universal laws and rules. This approach links well with the focus of this research, which aims to understand the day-to-day experiences and perspectives of adult educators (Lecturers), centre mangers and officials that support and implement the changes, within a specific context and backgrounds.

RESEARCH DESIGN: A CASE STUDY APPROACH

The overall strategy of this research was to adopt a case study approach to the research.

Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004:41) defines a case study as a format for research design that is focussed on an event or phenomenon that is identifiable by its boundaries. According to Merriam (1998:43) case studies focus on the process and context and shed light on the issue of the event. Henning et al (2004:41) sums up Merriam's definition that the how, when, who and why explain events that occur in the case and they are the reason for the study. The context is the case and not just part of it and the interaction between context and action provide the unit of analysis.

Merriam continues to say that case studies also illuminate the less obvious or counter intuitive events that may be missed in empirical or other studies. Case studies also provide an in-depth range of human experiences which is core to understanding human conditions (Merriam 1998:33).

Merriam (1998:29) provides three types of case studies namely: particularistic, descriptive and heuristic. Particularistic case studies focus on a single event or phenomenon and is used to avoid practical problems. Descriptive case studies

provide a rich, “thick” description of the case being studied. The thickness, Merriam explains, refers to a “complete, literal description of the incident. Whilst the heuristic case study focuses on the reader’s understanding the phenomenon under study which can bring new meaning and extend the reader’s experience or confirm what is known.

In summing up, Noor (2008:1602) states that other than providing contextual realities case studies also provide knowledge of what was planned and what actually happened.

In this research I used a descriptive case study as my research strategy, focusing on the public Adult Education and Training sector in Cape Town. The aim was to examine the transition of Public Adult Learning Centres to CETCs and how it affects the lecturers and managers. Using this strategy helped me focus on multiple sources of information and this helped me understand the complex real work experiences of the adult educators working in the sector.

DATA COLLECTION

The data gathering processes that a researcher decides to use must be appropriate for the research question. To understand the interviewees’ experiences and perspectives this study employed semi-structured interviews to allow interviewees to speak widely on issues raised in the interview, and to allow them to use their own words and expand and finish their thought processes. Since the study was mainly about discovering educators’ and managers’ and officials experiences rather than fact-checking, semi-structured interviews were more suitable for this study.

The study also drew on a range of documents, as the source of background data. The following sub-sections describe the data collection processes in more detail.

DOCUMENTS

I first read official documents that were published around the time of the transition from PALCs to CETCs in order to understand the background and what was envisaged for the sector. The documents covered different aspects; notable documents included a multi-site case study of different Public Adult Learning

Centres (Rule, Chatty, Baloyi and Daniels, 2016); and the DHET Task Team report which included recommendations for the new post-school institution. Other documents were:

- A multi-case study investigating efficacy in adult learning centres (Rule et.al, 2016)
- A document analysis of documents accessed through the DHET's website (Potgieter-Gqubule et.al, 2012).
- Various pieces of legislation including:
    - The White Paper for Post-School Education and Training (WPSET) of 2013
    - The Continuing Education and Training Act of 2006 (Act No.16 of 2006) & the National Policy on Community Education and Training Colleges
    - Government Gazette on The Policy on Minimum Requirements for Leading to Qualifications for Educators and Lecturers in Adult and Community Educations and Training (2013)
    - Draft Policy on Staffing Norms for Community Education and Training (CET) Colleges

INTERVIEWS

Sampling

The sampling of interviewees for this study straddles between purposive sampling and snowball sampling.

Denscombe (1998:5) points out that purposive sampling are where people are 'handpicked' for the study. The people are selected for a specific purpose in mind (which will be explained under pilot interviews) based on their relevance in the study. Denscombe (1998) adds that the advantage of this form of sampling is that it allows the researcher to focus on the people that are critical for the research. Selection of the two people for background interviews involved purposive sampling because they were specific people in my field of study and I knew how they were linked to the event, in this case the transitioning from Public Learning Centres to Community College.

I used snowball sampling for key respondents because the first two people referred to and provided contact details for these respondents.

The sample frame was a list of CLCs in in Western Cape (see Appendix). The principal provided two contact details for two centre managers, and the centre managers then provided contact details for educators (lecturers). The second person from the NGO also provided names from a list of forum attendees.

Although the list of Community Learning Centres (CLCS) obtained from the principal was up to date, contact details were not up to date, due to several reasons;

1) In cases where the CLCs were using mainstream schools it was difficult to obtain contact details as the CLCs had no administrative person working during the day and telephone numbers were usually for the host school.
2) Due to cable theft landlines did not work in most CLCs and this warranted the snowball sample. On some occasions I made appointments in person and confirmed in writing.

The respondents came from different CLCs located in different townships across Cape Town, servicing different constituencies and operating at different times. Due to the confidentiality clause in the consent form I have numbered the CLCs instead of providing the names.

- CLC 1- is a day centre catering to a mix of young and old students between ages 14-45. Most adults attend in the evening
- CLC 2 – operates during the day and at night with mix of student ages from 14 to quite mature students
- CLC 3 – operates as a night school with a mix student ages ranging from 14 – 60 years old
- CLC4 - Operates at night with a student mix of mostly students in mid-twenties and Older
- CLC5 – Centre closed

The total sample of key respondents consisted of:

- 7 adult educators/ lecturers
- 3 centre managers
- 3 managers

The following table gives further information on interviewees.

CLC	**No of interviews done**	**Roles**
CLC 1	1	Educator
CLC2	3	2 Educators/ 1 Centre manager
CLC3	4	Educators
CLC4	1	Centre manager
CLC 5	1	Centre manager

Table 2. Community Learning Centres where Lecturers taught.

Background interviews

Background interviews were done with two interviewees that were involved in different capacities in adult education in the Western Cape. The purpose of these interviews was to understand further the background to, and what informed the change in governance of Adult Education from Provincial Education Departments to the Department of Higher Education, and which led to the renaming of Public Adult Learning Centres as CETCs. The interviewees also assisted with locating key respondents.

The first background interview was with the Principal of the Western Cape Community College, (at the time of the interview he was the acting principal). He provided a list of Community Learning Centres and contact details, and personal contact details of Centre Managers in the areas I had indicated interest. The second person who was of assistance was from an Adult Education NGO and office who is involved in funding popular education in Cape Town also organises a forum of adult educators in Cape Town.

The questions I asked the interviewees, were around:

a) Background to the changes
b) Their assessment of the changes
c) What they believed was the role of the CETCs
d) How they had contributed to the transition

Interviews with key respondents

After completing the background interviews, permission was received from the Western Cape Education Department to conduct research. The process of getting contact details for and setting up interviews with key respondents proceeded. I initially asked 16 people if I could interview them and only two people could not take part due to personal and availability issues. Hence, I interviewed 14 key respondents.

Conducting the Interviews

At the start of the interview, I explained the focus of the research and provided a general background to the research and its aims. I explained the consent form (Appendix B), which included a clause on consent to use the information gathered for this thesis, permission to record and an explanation of who would have access to the information. The first page of the information that explained the study was left with the interviewee. The interviews were done in English, although three interviews were mix of isiXhosa and English. Interviews lasted between one and two hours which was the time requested for the interviews

The interviews were set at a time and venue chosen by the interviewee. The interviews took place at the offices of the four non-educator's interviewees (the officials), classrooms after school and one interview at the home of the educator. At centres that operated during both day and night, interviews were conducted on Friday as this was a non-teaching day or short teaching day, and educators did their administration.

There were two different interview schedules for managers and for lecturers respectively, and interviews covered following topics:

For Lecturers, interview questions covered:

- lecturers' entry points
- lecturers' experiences of the transition
- their broad philosophy of or approach to teaching
- their views on professionalization

For Centre Managers interview questions covered

- the current status of the CETCs in terms of the number of students registered, courses being offered, where the centre is located
- policy issues
- the challenges they faced
- what role they envisaged for the new CETCs playing
- their views on professionalization

DATA ANALYSIS

I recorded, took notes and transcribed all the interviews. I then coded the interview data manually and systematically using tables, and then color-coded and organised the data in thematic mind maps. The codes were clustered and categorised as part of an inductive process, in an iterative way. These were filtered and broken down to reveal focussed themes and subthemes.

Initial coding

According to the Centre for Evaluation and Research (2012) codes in qualitative data are an important part of developing and synthesising data collected. They also serve as a way of organising, compiling and labelling data. Braun and Clarke (2012:61) provide this analogy: those codes are the building blocks of analysis: "your analysis is a brick-built house with a tile roof and your codes are the individual bricks and tiles" (Braun et al, 2012:61). Thus, codes identify and provide a label for a feature of the data that is potentially relevant to the research question. Codes may reflect participants' language or may arise from the researcher's conceptual and theoretical framework. Coding needs to be inclusive, thorough and systematic. Finally, Braun et al (2012:62) adds that codes should always provide answers to the research question.

After the interviews were transcribed responses were clustered based on the research question and sub-questions and codes were allocated to the responses. The responses formed part of a priori codes; these a priori codes (or initial codes) were

not only derived from the research questions but also from both the theoretical and conceptual frameworks.

The a priori codes were:

i. role of community college
ii. professionalization
iii. lecturer profiles
iv. purposes of adult education

THEMATIC ANALYSIS

Searching for themes became the next phase after the initial coding of data. Braun et al (2012) describe themes as an active process of capturing something important about the data that relates to the research question and that represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set (Braun et al, 2012:63). They assert that themes are generated or constructed rather than discovered. They equate it to a sculpting process, where a sculptor decides or chooses how to shape and craft the piece of stone: thus, the stone is the raw data, and the work of art is the analysis (Braun et al, 2012:63). They summarise that "like a piece of stone the data set provides the material base for analysis and limits the possible end product" (Braun et.al, 2012:63).

The research questions were experiential and exploratory and within a contextualist framework. I used both inductive and deductive thematic analysis. Inductive because it drew directly from the participants' stories. And deductive because it drew on the theoretical constructs of different adult learning theories and concepts of professionalization. Thus, the interpretation in the findings of this study were based on inferred meanings of both theories and concepts that are explained in Chapter 2.

DATA PRESENTATION

The data is presented in two chapters; Chapters 4 and 5. These two chapters link the data to the theoretical and conceptual framework briefly, but a deeper and more elaborate discussion lies in Chapter 6. The chapter are divided as follows:

Chapter 4 Contextual and institutional Changes
Chapter 5 Perspectives on professionalization

After identifying the themes, I have provided the quotes that serve to illustrate the points in my analysis. Braun et al (2012:67) advise that each quote should provide clear and compelling data that illustrates the analytic points a researcher is making. They continue to say that the extracts should be pulled from across the data to illustrate coverage of the theme. The researcher's selection of quotes that illustrate the themes he/she is analysing provide structure for the analysis and inform the reader of his or her interpretation of data and meaning. However, quotes alone do not tell a story, and as Braun et al (2012:67) point out, an analytic narrative must explain what is interesting and surprising about the quote or extract and why.

I followed Braun's advice; each quote is explained and in some cases is paraphrased, although Braun et al (2012:67) advise against this.

VALIDITY

Validity in qualitative research indicates consistency and trustworthiness of the study results explored in the research. Triangulation has been suggested as one ways of testing validity. In this study I interviewed three different groups of role players and have used policy documents, government gazettes, and DHET task team reports for triangulating and cross validating the information gathered from the interviews. All these documents serve to enhance the validity and reliability of findings.

ETHICS

I was granted permission to do the research by the Western Cape Education Department in 2016. I was also cleared by the UCT Humanities Ethics committee in 2017. Both documents are attached (see appendices C and D). Each participant signed a consent form which explained the focus of the research, the kind of information I was looking for, how the information would be used and who would have access to the audio recording. The researcher recognised that her research might affect the respondents' future, and thus anonymised all the interviews, in order to limit any possibility of misrepresentation or harm.

LIMITATIONS

This study focusses mainly on issues that are relevant to the transition of the PALCs to CETCs. It involved interviews with educators and managerial staff of community learning centres, as well as an official of the DHET. Although there were conversations with students, these conversations are excluded here in order to maintain focus. I believe that in future research there is a need to understand both student and community needs and how the CETCs can respond to these. There are also limitations to the generalizability of findings given the limited nature of the case study, and the fact that it was confined to one city.

CHAPTER 4: POLICY AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGES

INTRODUCTION

Previous chapters have looked at the history of adult education in South Africa over different periods, the purposes of adult education that have underpinned this sector, as well as definitions of professionalization. All these are linked to the policies and processes mentioned in this chapter.

This chapter looks at the policy and institutional changes that have shaped the transition from PALCs to CETCs. Drawing on the interviews, the aims of the chapter are to understand how a selection of key role players - the lecturers, managers and centre managers – have experienced the transition of Public Adult Learning Centres' (PALCs) to CETCs. The chapter is divided into two parts: the first part focuses on the policy changes and how these have affected governance, and the institutional context within which the new post school institutions must operate and function. The second section of this chapter looks at the implications of these changes and perspectives on lecturer qualifications.

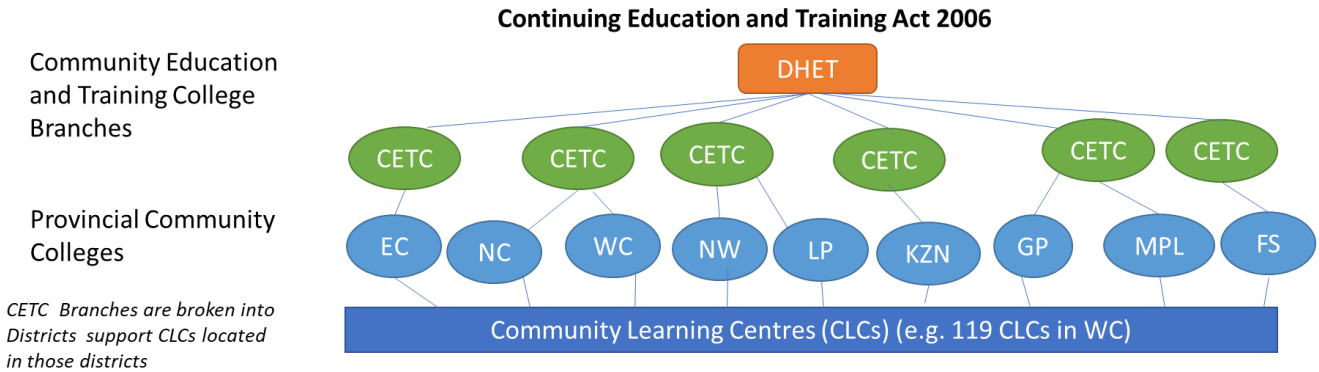
POLICIES GUIDING THE TRANSITION

The administration of the Adult Education and Training Act of 2000 (Act No.52 of 2000) and the Continuing Education and Training Act of 2006 (Act No.16 of 2006) was transferred to the Minister of Higher Education and Training, through Proclamation No.4 of 2009 which was published in Government Gazette No.32367 of 1 July 2009. The CET Act 2006 repealed the Adult Basic Education and Training Act of 2000. This implies that the CET Act 2006 is the main legislation governing CETCs and Community Learning Centres (CLCs) currently. The policy stipulates what nomenclature the CETCs must use, how they are to be governed, their institutional structure, how they are to be resourced, as well as setting the context in which they operate. The CETCs were to incorporate the existing Adult Education and Training institutions but expand their scope (Baatjes and Baatjes, 2008).

INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE CHANGES

As mentioned above AET moved from Provincial Departments of Education (PDEs) to the National Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET), thus becoming a post-school institution. Nine CETCs were established – one for each province - and six Community Education and Training (CET) branches/directorates were established nationally to support the CETCs and their CLCs. The CET branches replace the Education Management and Development Centres (EMDCs) as their role is similar. Manager 2 explained that of the six CETC branches created, some provinces share a branch. For example, Western Cape and the Northern Cape CETC are served by one branch.

Manager 1 explained that having these branches meant that CETCs have "leverage and much greater recognition (similar to other post-school institution) as far as DHET is concerned". The CET branches' role, according to Manager 3, was to provide support to the CLCs as well as the provincial CETC. The branches support the CLCs with institutional management and governance as well as with curriculum advice and student support. Below is an organogram of the post-school institutional landscape.



EC = Eastern Cape, NC= Northern Cape, WC = Western Cape, NW= North West, LP = Limpopo, GP= Gauteng, KZN = Kwazulu Natal, MPL= Mpumalanga, FS = Free State

According to the Manager 1, moving to the Department of Higher Education involved changes to the nomenclature used. The new nomenclature referred to 'students' instead of 'learners' and 'lecturers' instead of educators or facilitators. One lecturer thought this indicated an upgrade and felt hopeful, especially during the DHET roadshows announcing the changes.

Centralization of government structures

Manager 2 stated that before the transition each PALC had its own governing body which was made up of community members and other groups of people who would contribute to the centre. These governing bodies were a legal entity with rights to employ lecturers and decide on their salaries. As part of the transition, these governing bodies were dissolved in 2015 and were replaced by a Council for each provincial Community College. The Council members are nominated by lecturers, students and community members, as per Section 10 (4) (B) of the Continuing Education and Training Act (Act No16 of 2006). This governing structure would address the shortcomings of the earlier governing bodies and create uniformity in how the CLCs functioned with representation made up of community members, lecturers and students.

The community college plays an administrative role, and the Council is where decisions are made and all the administrative personnel such as the principal, the deputy, human resources and other advisors sit. While CETCs deal with? curriculum-related issues, the CET branches provide curriculum support and governance. The CLCs are solely teaching locations, whether they have their own buildings or use mainstream school premises.

Manager 2 explained the significance of the change to a single Council for all the CLCs in each province:

> This means that the Council and the Principal have the authority instead of the centre itself and the governance is now vested in the College Council, all the decisions are taken to the College Council and with the College Principal and not with the centre.

Although Council nominations were open to everyone within the sector, including students and lecturers, one lecturer said that he did not know when the nominations had opened and who was nominated:

> For instance, here they spoke about (the) College Council (but) we don't even know how it was elected and who its members are. (Lecturer 4)

While nominations for the Council are meant to be transparent, it does not seem this is achieved as most lecturers interviewed did not know how and when nominations

took place. Furthermore, some lecturers felt the Council has moved further from them and closer to the employers (the College) thus creating some sense of alienation for most lecturers (this is discussed further in chapter 5).

Centralization of Financial Systems

Manager 2 explained that financial systems were also centralised. Before the transition, all CLCs had their own banking accounts. Each centre received a portion of the budget and the centre's governing body controlled its finances for lecturer salaries and administrative costs.

The banking accounts of all the centres were closed and replaced by only one central bank account for the Western Cape Community College, which is made up of 119 CLCs. Procurement, for example, is now done through the College and not by the CLCs. The centres still have what the Manager 2 called subsidiary bank accounts, which means CLCs can receive money from external funders, but they cannot take money out.

> As I said the CLCs can receive money into their subsidiary account which is immediately transferred into the college's account where all payments are made. So, the centres can procure through the College, anything from learning support material through the College.

The DHET pays the salaries of all lecturer and other employees working at CLCs. The implications of this for the CLC is loss of control over both resources and governance, which lead to delays in the requisition process as requisitions are now done through the Community College.

According to Manager 1 the funding formula (calculated according to enrolled students) for the College has not changed, thus limiting what they can offer as a Community College and this means that they cannot spend on infrastructure.

At the time of the interviews (2016), the funding situation was seen as a major problem. Three respondents felt that the university students' protests for free higher education *(#FeesMustFall protests*) made funding for AET uncertain, as more funding would likely be allocated to the university sector, and financing of adult education had not been a priority in the past.

CONTEXTUAL CHANGES

The Post School Education and Training (WP-PSET) policy document (2013:20) argued that there was a growing number of unemployed and out of school youth and adults that were not being served by the PALCs and who did not qualify for access to TVET colleges. In addition, it recognised that public learning institutions did not cater for community learning needs. The growing number of youths found in adult education centres has warranted the creation of learning pathways that would link to other post-school institutions, thus respond to community needs. However, because of insufficient resources, there is a need to collaborate with non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations and other governmental departments. The following section focuses on the role of CLCs in responding to the needs of new constituencies, in offering course articulation.

Community Focus

All three Managers saw the role of CETCs as responding to community needs. Manager 1 spoke to this as a priority.

> The most important change is the fact that, whereas in the past the centres have focused on academic programmes…, the main focus is now being placed on diversifying the offerings, looking at attempting to respond to the needs of the communities, (whether it be) shorter skills programs, non-formal programmes the community would like to participate on - We put pressure (emphasis in the original) on our centres to diversify their programs.

The needs of communities as seen by the different respondents range from addressing unemployment, empowerment by providing skills, giving community members accredited courses and providing opportunities for further study.

Manager 2 stated that:

> We've got a very important role in addressing the unemployment issue. How can the College deal with unemployment and give the people the opportunity to empower themselves if it is through skills, obtaining the necessary academic qualification to become more employable.

Manager 3 spoke of the need to improve conditions to ensure that community needs are met. This included student support to ensure students' success. According to him this is a national mandate.

The CLCs provided basic education and electives such as Ancillary Health, Travel and Tourism, SMME and Computer literacy. The managers spoke of diverse programmes and skills that respond to community needs, however, stated that this has been done through partnering with TVET colleges that offered certain courses at CLCs and different learnerships that have included one offered by AGRISETA (the SETA for the agricultural sector) and end user computing offered by the Education and Training Development Practice (ETDP SETA).

Centre Manager 1 felt that they were limited to offer skills courses as half their equipment to offer skills was in storage because they did not have enough space to offer skills since their move to new premises. The relationship with the community was reciprocal; community members keep watch over the CLC 2 as it had been broken into a lot and use the CLC as venue for community gatherings while the centre manger shares information when learnerships and work opportunities are available. CLC 1 also made space available for a small business owner to operate a food kiosk on their premises.

Youth: a new learner profile

According to Manager 1 the face of the student population has changed over the past couple of years. The largest group used to be from age group 22 and above. Now the larger group was 16- to 22-year-olds. The number of adult learners has not necessarily dwindled but the number of young folks has increased. This change in learner profile creates some opportunities for intergenerational learning as well new challenges for the CLCs.

Centre Manager 1 felt that younger students were drawn to the CLCs because they could take two years rather than one to finish a high school level, doing three to four subjects (rather than six to seven subjects) a year:

> We have also noticed that students that are struggling at school come to us because they can do two or three, four subjects, unlike mainstream schools where they have to do all six subjects in a year, and they can take a little bit longer until they finish.

Respondents also mentioned that many of the young students who come to the CLCs had learning difficulties.

In one class one can find students' ages ranging from 16 to 50 years old and sometimes older. There was a mix of feelings towards this on the part of managers. The respondents said there were disciplinary challenges which warranted additional student support.

Manager 1 felt that having different age groups in one class was motivating and encouraged the younger students to continue with school because they could see older people continuing with their education.

> It's interesting to see different age groups at school at the same time, because we have from 16-year-olds to 50- and 60-year-olds so… if someone who was discouraged maybe at 18 sees an older person is still at school, s/he thinks then I'm too young to just leave school.

All the managers and lecturers agreed that in cases where the students were misbehaving it was the adults that pulled the youth into line. However, there were cases where the students fought on school premises and the police had to be called.

New demands presented by this new constituency has meant that other forms of student support services have had to be sought:

> Now, once again the college does not have funding to employ people that can assist, and once again we have to collaborate and partner with community organisations that have access to counselling services like Badisa (an NGO) linked to the NG church and even linking with [the department of] Social Development for assistance in this regard, so that we are able to provide our younger students with the necessary support. (Manager1)

Greater possibilities of Articulation and Pathways

The CLCs offer basic education from level 1 to level 4 and Matric. The curriculum offers two exit levels depending on students age. For students under 21 they exit at level 4 of NQF 1 and are encouraged to go to a TVET College. For students older than 21, they continue to Matric and exit with NQF Level 4, which could earn entry to another post-school institution should they meet entry requirements. Manager respondents recognised that ABET was a steppingstone to further learning, especially when talking about empowerment, personal enrichment and opportunities to exercise agency.

> More thought was also being given to different ways to best respond to community needs: You can see that in itself (accreditation) is a big aspect of what we need to do because from the initial phase, of just getting people to read and write, at the end of the day this is the goal. From there people can move forward to TVET College or continue their studies to Matric or get employment (Manager 3).

As a result, two respondents encourage students to continue with studying further and at times advocate for their entry in TVET colleges. This support seems to be done on ad-hoc basis by lecturers 'for those students with greater potential".

NEW QUALIFICATIONS FOR EDUCATORS

Currently lecturers in CLCs have a range of qualifications because in the past there were no defined adult educator qualifications demanded by the state in state run institutions. The sector was open to anyone with a Matric to teach, including already employed and unemployed mainstream teachers.

Except for one lecturer and the two centre managers, the lecturers who were interviewed have varied adult educator qualifications, (see Annexure 2 lecturer qualifications) but these are not recognised under the new framework. These

qualifications do not include a subject specialisation or methodology, and as such all three managers referred to lecturers as inappropriately or inadequately qualified.

The new Policy on Minimum Requirements Leading to Qualifications for Educators and Lecturers in Adult and Community Educations and Training (2013) stipulates that lecturers who teach at the CLC must have at a minimum a Diploma in ACET.

Along with the new entry requirements and qualifications there are also new competencies that are embedded in the qualifications. All three managers agreed that competent lecturers must possess knowledge of more than the subject they will be teaching, knowledge of assessment practices, the ability to teach as well as knowledge of the AET sector.

According to Manager 1 the ideal lecturer in this context is someone that is very creative, someone who is able to think on their feet, who is up to speed with community needs, and very knowledgeable about the one or two subjects they to offer:

> Somebody who is able to effectively share the content of specific subjects successfully, and absolutely au fait with assessment and assessment practices: ideally you would include the assessor and mentor training for your lecturers as well to ensure they are up to speed with that as well. And somebody who can think critically. Manager 1

IMPLICATIONS OF CHANGES FOR THE CLC

Although the changes described above were meant to correct the [inadequacies] weaknesses of PALCs, they have created challenges for a few well-functioning centres. The changes concerned include the centralization of governance and finance, institutionalization and the new context in which the CLCs function.

ONE STEP FORWARD, TWO STEPS BACK

According to the ABET Act of 2000, CLCs could decide their own structure, course provision, choose their own location and raise their own funding; in a nutshell, it allowed them some autonomy. Two of the CLCs in this study, CLC1 and CLC 5, were well-functioning CLCs but the requirements of the new policy changed this. This section looks at how these changes have affected the CLCs, in particular two centres: CLC 2 and CLC 5, as well as their implications for lecturers.

According to one centre manager, the option for PALCs provided by DHET was either to become part of a College or to become a private college. CLC 1 became part of the provincial Community College, while CLC 5 decided to close because of the limiting effects and the bureaucracy that would be entailed in becoming a private college.

With regards to CLC 1, the centre had rented their space for years, was previously located in a community from where most of its students came and was easily accessible to others from different townships in Cape Town. Under the new dispensation, the CLC was moved to a primary school in another township, a location which was too small to accommodate the equipment the CLC had accumulated over the years. In its old venue the PALC had provided a suite of courses that included the ABET curriculum and skills courses such as sewing, cooking and woodwork; and it ran income-generating courses for the Centre, such as charging students to improve their Matric results. However, as the new venue was so small, they had to abandon other courses and offer only the ABET curriculum.

Safety became an issue; when CLC moved to the new venue it was broken into constantly, and there was no security, so people could “just come in rob the staff and students”, the Centre Manager 1 said. In addition, with no control over its finances,

since it surrendered its bank account to the College, the centre manager stated that the centre also had to abandon one of its student support initiatives, namely that of offering students transport in the evenings. This was a huge loss because students tend to drop out mostly in winter as evening classes finish late and at times taxis are not available, thus putting students at risk.

The Centre Manager at CLC 1 felt that the PALC was already functioning as a college according to course offerings listed in the PSET legislation.

> The main problem is we were bundled with other schools; the policy decided to blanket everything. They did not have a policy for a school like ours. Our PALC was already a College. For us we were moved back, because we were already doing everything that they were talking about: we had academic, formal and non-formal courses. But now because we had to be moved from where we were to this school, we had to forfeit other programs we were doing and became a very small centre like other centres.

In the case of CLC 5 on the other hand, the centre was an NGO founded by parents of a private school 27 years ago. According to the Centre Manager, CLC5 had various funders that included a SETA, the provincial education department and the City of Cape Town. The centre employed educators and facilitators to teach Basic Education and Literacy Levels 1 to Level 4 (with both English and Afrikaans classes). It also provided Matric and Skills courses: Computer Literacy, and Sewing, which led to a sewing group.

The centre manager explained that CLC5 employed educators and facilitators with different qualifications to address different community needs. Their teaching staff was made up of 20 educators and 30 facilitators, which included 'double parkers' (term will be explained later) as well as facilitators that were trained in social activism, and they facilitated various non-formal courses using the Reflect Approach – a Freirean based approach.

CLC 5 also provided student support in terms of providing transport to curb student dropout and ensure student safety. Due to the recent changes this meant that the centre had to either:

- change from being an NGO to become a CLC and register with Umalusi (Accreditation authority for Basic Education)

- Become a Private College
- Close; or
- Become something else that would respond to community needs, although the centre manager was unsure what form it could take.

The first option meant that they could no longer have a bank account, which had previously enabled them to run a taxi service for the students. This was essential for students as there were no taxis or public transport in the area after 7pm and it ensured that most students did not drop out and were safe.

CLC5's final decision was to close because they felt the changes were too rigid and they also had to consider succession issues. Both Centre managers (CLC1 and CLC5) felt let down by the DHET as it failed to recognise earlier contributions made by the centres.

THE NARROW FOCUS OF CETCs

Centre Manager 2 felt that the approach taken by the DHET lacked vision. She was angry and disappointed because she felt the department was inflexible and too strictly focused on the academic side of AET - which she felt was the "*less important*" focus.

She said she agreed that some of the people that get into AET were looking for a second chance of getting an education so they could progress. However, because of the academic focus of AET the students faced the same challenges that caused them to drop out in the first place. This centre manager had a background in both Education and Adult Education and held the belief that 'teaching' rather than 'facilitating' disregards students' knowledge and students' previous experience, which the academic nomenclature alludes to.

Centre Manger 2 believed that the role of adult education was to "focus on the personal development of the individual; it also serves a broken society that needs to discover self-love, self-confidence, and self-value." She felt that the change in nomenclature the focus from the emotional aspects of education to only a cognitive focus.

COMMUNICATION: BROKEN TELEPHONE

Two of the interviewees felt that with greater centralization communication had become a much lengthier process leading to delays and misunderstandings along the way. One said:

> What I liked then before the transition was that everything was happening within (the centres) but now with the Community College there is a lot of bureaucracy. Stuff (communication) moves from the centre to the provincial office then to national. Therefore, you find that there are delays and sometimes find out the information has changed by the time it gets to where it is supposed to go (broken telephone) or information does not get back to you and you find there is no feedback on your concerns. That was the difference. For instance, here, they spoke about a College council; we do not even know how it was elected and who its members are. So, we don't have a place where we can take our grievances, not necessarily grievances but where we can take suggestions.

Some of respondents noted that there have been additional limitations to shift to another government department, and this had caused confusion around the correct protocol to access higher management, for example the Western Cape College principal. According to one of the lecturers this had inadvertently given power to the centre managers and created suspicion between lecturers and centre managers.

> We are confined now, we are beholden to the centre manager now and it has become her role to take our issues to the college principal…So, you find now you must wait and wait, and then (you) decide that you have to personally go direct or find yourself the national office contact details and even that it may not be acceptable, because you are not following protocol. (Lecturer 4)

NEW DEMANDS – RESOURCES & RESOURCEFULNESS

Although there have been new pressures to respond to community needs and to diversify course offerings or programs, there are limitations to what centres can offer due to various resource limits that include funding, infrastructure and appropriately qualified lecturers.

As a result, the CLC centre managers have been encouraged to create space for community engagement and to forge cooperative relationships with community-based organisations (CBOs), non-governmental organisations (NGOs), faith-based organisations (FBOs) and other governmental stakeholders.

According to three of the managers, these collaborations have been forged to offer skills where the Western Cape Community College does not have capacity to do so, due to inadequate funding, infrastructure and/or accredited or certified lecturers. According to the Manager 1:

> For the simple reason, our lecturers are not accredited to offer these accredited courses if they are accredited courses. However, if there are non-formal courses, our lecturers can assist in that regard. But then we've been trying to do it because the funding does not reside with us so we've been trying to collaborate/ partner with these organisations that can do that.

Manager 1 explained that the collaboration is necessary if the colleges are to access sufficient funds to improve the sector and this could be a responsibility of both Centre managers and/ with the Community College principal's support. Manager 1 explained that the funding resides with the SETAs hence the collaboration with them:

> One of our sites in Worcester is currently working with the Education Training Development Practice (ETDP) SETA offering end user computing to 50 students, the same centre is working with the Agriculture SETA through one of the employers in the area, offering Agri skills course to about 434 students.

Collaborations with different SETAs provide students with theoretical and practical skills especially with the limited skills courses available in the CLCs, although offered on an ad-hoc basis.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has looked at the changes that were instituted as part of the transition from PALCs to CETCs and the implications of such changes. For many of the respondents, these changes were meant to build capacity for the adult education and training sector and ensure that it is run effectively. However, centralization funding and centres has taken away the autonomy that was afforded by the ABET Act of 2000 to individual centres to fundraise and invest in infrastructure development, especially for centres that were able to do this. The centralization of governance has seemingly broadened the distance between the lecturers and the DHET, even with the Council they were meant to nominate.

Respondents felt that the status of the CLCs does not reflect the increased status that the changes in nomenclature suggest in the White Paper on PSET due to a number of reasons, including lack of resources, loss of control over funding, as well loss of qualified lectures.

According to the informants in this study, the current curriculum provided at the CLCs is basic and mainly academic. This serves as a stepping for students that intend to study further, and as such meets some their needs for accreditation as one manager stated. Unfortunately, this does not meet needs of those students seeking skills development. The problem of limited offerings is exacerbated by lack of equipment, funds as well as skilled lecturers to teach the skills courses. To meet community needs for skills development, some CLCs and the Community College collaborate with other government departments, NGOs, and SETAs to offer skills courses. This requires some level of creativity and resourcefulness on part of the lecturers to meet the needs of the constituencies. The creativity extends to supporting students as some of the students have learning disabilities and vast emotional needs (this covered in the next chapter).

The transition from PALCs to CETCs came at a severe cost to two CLCs (with one choosing to close), thus affecting the lives of the students at these facilities. These two CLCs had provided academic as well as various skills course and a popular education course in one CLC 5. Both centre managers felt that the DHET had moved them two steps back instead of building on the work they had done.

The next chapter will look at experiences of the lecturers and how they view their roles.

CHAPTER 5: LECTURERS' PERSPECTIVES AND VIEWS ON PROFESSIONALISATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter explores lecturers' and managers' views on the professionalization of Adult Education and Training (AET) in South Africa. It looks at their entry points and career trajectories, how they view the purpose of their work, their experiences of working conditions and how they define professionalism. This chapter is based on perspective of 7 lectures and 3 centre managers. The table below gives a brief profile of the lecturers:

Table 3: Profile of the lecturers interviewed

Name	**Age/Gender**	**Qualifications**	**Teaching History**
Lecturer 1	54/F	Higher Diploma in ETDP Adult Education = 4 Modules	Teaches: level 3 Subject: Integrated Studies / English and Communications.
Lecturer 2	50s F	Matric and ABET Diploma Moderator and Assessor, and various other short courses	Started as a SANLi project Adult Educator, lectures at 2 centres
Lecture 3	late 20s , F	Matric and Higher Certificate in Education (Adult Education)	Teaches: Maths, Level 3 , Has been teaching for 7 years, since she passed Matric
Lecture 4	40 F	Matric and Higher Certificate in Education (Adult Education)	TEACHES: LEVEL 2&3 LANGUAGE Has been teaching for 7 years.
Centre Manager 1	50s, F	Qualified teacher	Centre Manager, has been for more than 20 years

Lecture 5	53, M	Higher Certificate in Education Training and Development (ETD) and Higher Diploma ETD in Adult Learning (2yrs for each course) at UWC	Started teaching in 2014. I worked as a Community Development worker as a facilitator, running awareness campaigns for the youth and older persons looking at their needs and so on.
Lecture 6	47, M	Higher Certificate in Adult Education in 2010 at UNISA, one-year higher certificate Higher Diploma in 2015 (a year course	Has worked at various CLCs for unspecified number of years before moving to CLC 2 in 2014
Centre Manager 2	60s, F	Not specified	Centre manager for the past years. She says she has been involved in Adult Education since 1985 as a volunteer
Centre Manager 3	60s F	Qualified teacher with other Adult Ed qualifications	Been in the AET for more than 20 years
Lecture 9	50s, M	Qualified teacher	Teaches grade 7 maths at primary school. Also teaches level 4 maths at the CLC.

The table shows some are fully qualified teachers, but most have only a 1 or 2-year Higher Certificate or Diploma but most have between 6-30 years' work experience.

LECTURERS' ENTRY POINTS

Brown, Karmel and Ye (2012:7) identify two entry points for most adult educators 'first choice' and 'afterwards'. The 'afterwards' entry point refers to adult educators who join the sector after they have worked in other fields but have realised that there was little chance for progression in that field. As part of this study, I identified two additional entry points for adult educators in the CLCs, 'chance entry', which speaks to series of chance events that led educators into the field of AET: and 'double parking' due to dual employment.

South African AET has a long history of employing high school teachers, rather than specifically trained adult educators for a number of reasons. In most cases they are sought out because (i) they have professional training which most adult educators have not had; ii) AET adopts the same curriculum as is offered in high schools; and (iii) only high school teachers get ongoing training to adapt to the regular curriculum changes made by the Department of Basic Education. This creates a situation of dual employment for teachers, teaching children during the day and adults at night.

This section is sub-divided according to the entry points mentioned above, as well as the themes that emerged in the study. The interviewees were divided into three categories; (a) chance entry, (b) 'afterwards' where life circumstances led them into the field of AET, and (c) additional career ('double-parkers'). The lines between these entry categories are not hard and clear.

Most of the adult educators interviewed had taught in the CLCs before they had achieved an AET Qualification; two interviewees studied at university before teaching adult learners; four interviewees did a two-year course in ABET two years after they started teaching adult learners; three trained as schoolteachers; and two did not specify when and where they got their qualifications.

ADULT EDUCATOR CHANCE ENTRY

There is a strong narrative that speaks to the role of chance, serendipity and life situation in the case of entry into this field, as none of the lecturers interviewed initially planned to teach in basic adult education. They were either referred to it by a friend or a chance meeting.

For Lecturer 3 teaching was the furthest thing on her mind; she explains:

> I said I was not going to be a teacher because my mom was a teacher, my sister and my cousin were all in it (adult education) before me. I always said no you're so crazy I'm not going to do that and it's too much stress whatever. And then one day I went with them (mother, sister and cousin) to the CLC by accident and they were like, don't you want to pass on these papers to the learners and the learners started asking me questions "what do I do here, Miss"? I was like I know what to do here and I explained (what the question was about) it and that's when I realised, I just helped this person and (it) kind of felt good… So, my mom asked if I do not want to help with the mathematics because I just left school, I matriculated the year before… I was at college… And then it went from one year to the next and the next and then I decided, you know I am here every year and I don't even have a qualification

A common theme, the lecturers referred to their work as 'helping' and that they were needed as role models and as motivators. One of the youngest lecturers stated that, *"*I decided I am just going to help out with the Maths*" (Lecturer 4)*, while another said, "I found that I had the passion for helping others" (Lecturer 3).

Another lecturer (Lecturer 5) stated that he was in Adult Education because he felt this was an opportunity to play a role in the community:

> Another reason is I wanted to pass the knowledge that I have especially to the youth, because they are the ones in trouble. There is that breakdown between the adults and the youth, you can see that as they grow, they have no direction because there is a lack of connection/ guidance with the elders because of family disputes. This motivated me, and I realised that education is very important, and I should have an input and play a role towards my community.

He was concerned that the youth were becoming alienated from the older generation.

LATE ENTRY DUE TO LIFE CIRCUMSTANCES

Life circumstances were also an important theme in the stories of how those lecturers interviewed got involved in adult education.

For example, Lecturer 4's daughter was diagnosed with dyslexia at the age of seven when doing Grade 2. Lecturer 3 then worked at a factory in Cape Town. Her mother Lecturer 2) who taught at the CLC encouraged her to attend one night to see how they taught at the centre. She went to a Level 1 class. On that first night she saw adults learning to write by tracing the alphabet. Lecturer 4 then asked her mother to give her learning material for her daughter. She taught her daughter at home, and when she saw how her daughter was improving, she asked to sit in her mother's classroom, and she took her daughter with. She later enrolled her into level 1 of ABET, until level 3 while she also attended Grade 2. Her daughter is now 15 years and is doing well at school. For Lecturer 4, she discovered that she had passion for adult education, and she started teaching there.

Two other respondents shared a similar story. Both respondents dropped out of school in the middle of high school because of family reasons and their reintroduction to schooling led to their posts as AET lecturers. One lecturer went on to finish high school after 22 years and Lecturer 1 had to finish matric while already teaching as part of this transition.

Below is Lecturer 2's story which I found shared similarities with her adult students:

Lecturer 2 dropped out of school in STD 6 (grade 8 now) because her parents could no longer afford to keep her at school. She worked at the factories and helped her family financially until she got pregnant with her first child. Her father "put her out" (kicked her out of home) as she became an additional financial burden. She later married and became a housewife. After her second child in the marriage her husband became abusive, first emotionally then physically. She said she stayed in the marriage because both church and community disapproved of divorce. However, it was her mother who told her she to leave because her children saw what was happening. So, she started looking for a job while he belittled her attempts at independence. She found a job as a cleaner at a school and soon after got divorced. While at the school she enrolled at a night school 22 years. She studied until she got her Matric. After Matric a series of serendipitous events unfolded; she came across an advert in a community newspaper called The Plainsman for people interested in adult education. She attended the Saturday classes for a year, she was offered a bursary to do a 2-year Adult Education Diploma at UCT. She graduated at UCT while she was still a cleaner, this alienated her to the principal who seemed intent on undermining her achievements.

The launch of the South African Learning Initiative (SANLi) Project (a literacy project that was launched in 2000) she registered for it. The project was offered by the Department of Basic Education and Training. The project required people to start their own ABET centres and the department provided the learning materials. Lecturer 2 negotiated for a class in a church, recruited students and taught basic literacy and numeracy for two years; four days a week teaching different levels of students without a salary because of delays claim processing. She was advised to register the centre after that she was paid, continued to run the centre for five years until, she was offered a job by the City of Cape Town's ABET Centre as a facilitator for the City's employees. Currently she is still working at the City of Cape Town as an assistant adult educator as lecturing at a CLC. She recruited her two daughters, her niece and her former teacher. Hers is a story of resilience also used as motivation at her CLC for both young and old students.

Box 1. Lecturer 2 Life's story

ADDITIONAL CAREER

There were three lectures that were 'double-parkers' in this study; one was a primary school teacher, an adult educator (lecturer 2) for City and the youngest lecturer a financial advisor. Both the lecturers were recruited to the CLC by Lecturer 2, one is her daughter and her former night schoolteacher. Although most of those lecturers entered the field unplanned, they have stayed for a long time and have tried to up skill themselves.

NEW ROLES AND NEW SKILLS NEEDED TO DEAL WITH YOUTH

Most students that attend CLCs face many life challenges, some of which may have caused them to leave school. As a result, the lecturers have multiple-roles and need new skills to deal/ assist the students.

LEARNING ABOUT STUDENT HISTORIES

A common narrative amongst respondents was that it was important to develop trust with the students and that this takes time. The lecturers learnt about their students' histories over time; they did not push but let the students' stories unfold in their own time. All seven interviewees spoke of the importance of trust in the relationship between the lecturers and students. Lecturer 3 said:

> As the year progresses, we find out, what type of people they are, what they go through, what motivates them, why they come to the school and so on. So, during the year we build their trust with them because at the end of the day if they don't trust you, you can't go any further… students must be open to learning to learn.

Lecturer 5 stated that they find out about their students' histories through various and indirect ways including site-based assessments.

> I find out about their histories when teaching and mostly when they have to do composition and free writing because you do not want to embarrass the student. Maybe you ask them how they ended up in ABET. That's when you hear the stories, some cite that 'their parents died, or I got pregnant, or there was no money to continue with schooling, I had a drug problem, or I got arrested. There are many students here that were in jail…'.

Some of the stories the lecturers got to hear were so unexpected and painful that they sought external help either from other teachers or other professionals. For Lecturer 3 this came as part of the Life Orientation lesson on peer pressure.

> Once we did a lesson on Peer pressure and we did not know that this young girl in our class was actually pressured to have sex. During the lesson I could see she was uncomfortable, and she asked if she could see me outside. We went outside she told me that the lesson was affecting her. I asked her whether she was pressured to have sex and she said No, she was gang raped by the guys that were there (emphasis in the original?). I did not know how to handle that because I did not expect my lesson to rip open a wound. Then I spoke to my mom, Lecturer 2, and then from there she handled it. We got someone to speak to the girl. It happened a couple of years ago, but it stuck. So, whenever I do a similar topic, first I ask if they are comfortable talking…

The student life histories were heart-breaking in that even though students were young, they had to deal with many challenges. The following is a narrative of one lecturer about her students.

Lecturer 1 took the researcher through her class list to show the growth of the students and how they had progressed. In her Level 3 class this lecturer had students with various challenges, which varied from learning disabilities, identity issues and other challenges. Her narration covers why the students ended up at a CLC, their progress and her their challenges.

Lecturer 1: this girl is a foreigner, she just repeats everything, and when I give her a question, she will just write the question and not the answers.

Lecturer: This is N, she is 19, never went to school because she had a condition, TB of the bones, 90% of the time she was in hospitals. They may have taught her at the hospital and did some home schooling, but I can tell you ever since she came here, she has improved.

Lecturer: This one is a nervous wreck, 44, he left school when he was in grade 4, and he is a fulltime student here at the centre. He wants to go to work because he has an ex-wife... I told him don't give up

J is Congolese, she stayed at home because her mother passed away, and she's16. Her mom died when she was 10, her father took her out of school she had to look after the baby that was about 8/9 months old. She's got 3 brothers and she came this year for the first time. She comes here she thinks she's the mother…

Lecturer: This one, I don't know if he's gay or not, he's very feminine, he wrote me a very touching letter, about how they bullied him at school, and he says that's why he is here, and here everybody accepts him.

This boy (LM) has anger issues, he was with me last year and then he stayed away. He is currently under probation, 2 weeks ago he was in court because he stabbed a guy, the guy is critical, and the guy he stabbed is a gangster... I said to (names him) that doesn't make sense, you just don't do it.

She explained that LM was her special student. "I treat him differently than others. when he came here last year, he was sitting over there, looking so serious, and then I'll crack jokes and he would not laugh. Then one day three or four weeks later I looked up he was smiling. I was "wow I got him smiling wow" (she claps) … and I touch him, he doesn't allow people in his space, so I'll stand next to him and I touch him. When he had this issue two to three months ago, he hugged me, and he said to me "Ma'am I did something terrible", I was like what did you do, he said "Ma'am you're going to be so disappointed, and he told me he got into a fight and was arrested. I looked at him and walked away... I came back, and he said,

"Ma'am aren't you going to ask me" I said no, I'm not interested, because I told you to go for anger management and you didn't listen to me

Researcher: Where would he have gone for anger management?

Lecturer 1: he could have asked me; I would have sent him.

You see, with the adults we did not have to do that (be involved) but the youngsters come from different stuff … for me this is not a job. I am here for them.

Box 2. Examples of the student histories

Because of the new demands of dealing with students with troubled histories most lecturers spoke of the multiple roles that they play, some having nothing to do with educating the students. These roles included being a parent, a friend, motivator, social worker and counsellor; for example:

> I tell my students that 'I am not your mother, I am not your friend, I am your teacher' but I find that I am all three rolled into one! (Lecturer 1)

Some of the difficulties students faced, lecturers explained, include being made fun of by peers, difficulties at their workplaces, gangsterism, and crime and safety when travelling to and from the CLC; for example:

> Then you as an educator must then again motivate that person. And even though you motivated that person yesterday you have to do it again today because the battle that person had to go through to get to class alone… You know, it is a constant battle, like in the beginning of the year we have 40 learners but in end in the exam room it's not even 50-50(half) sometimes it is if we're lucky. Our job as facilitators is not to teach only, we have to motivate, we have to be counsellors" (Lecturer 3).

The changing face of the adult learning centres from being predominantly for adults to catering for a growing number of new constituencies who are younger and troubled requires new skill sets on the part of lecturers. Some of these skills are ones which lecturers are not adequately prepared to deal with, but mostly lecturers rely on each

other and their knowledge of NGO's or government departments to deal with the youth. The one necessary quality they need is empathy.

APPROACHES TO ADULT LEARNING

This section looks at the perspectives of lecturers (and managers) adult learning. These are analysed according to the perspectives discussed in Chapter 2 namely, the Humanist approach, Human Capital and Transformative Approach.

The lecturers were asked to explain their broad approach/philosophy to teaching, but participants struggled to engage with this question. So, the researcher broke down the question by asking what they understood by the term, 'transformative education' as this has been an important part of the country's history and the White Paper on PSET (2013) refers to it as playing a role in adult education.

Whereas Freire's notion of transformative learning is "to enable people to share, dialogue about their experiences, their strengths, the injustices and take collective action" (Baatjes and Baatjes, 2004:398), the lecturers understood the notion of transformative education in different ways, such as diversity, teaching about the South Africa's history of racial policies and politics and interrogating the economic structure.

Some interviewees stating that transformative learning is embedded in all subjects while others felt it had been abandoned in the 1980s. It was CLC 5 (the NGO that closed) that had an explicit transformative or popular education approach as part of their informal courses.

Transformative learning seemed to be understood as a general result of exposure to education. According to Centre Manager 2, access to education empowers people to change their circumstances.

> When I look around it is people from Eastern Cape that are interested to change the situation, they are in… you'll find that people that were domestic workers end up being teachers and nurses or something bigger than they were. You see the change. In fact, even if they do not pass at the end of the year, you feel the change in that person by the fact that person was exposed to education here at this CLC. You find

> they come back to finish their studies because they have surely seen something that changes them. They are determined to go further and further their studies.

Other respondents spoke of the personal growth they see in their students: confidence to participate in class, behavioural changes, and a more positive outlook on life.

Although this section has only looked at the transformative learning perspective, the findings revealed that there is a limited understanding of Freire's notion of transformative learning. However, looking at box 2 and other made by lecturers above, reveals the strong presence of humanist learning perspective.

Some of the management staff saw the role of CETCs in more Human Capital terms; one manager described the role of the CETCs in this way:

> We've got a very important role in addressing the unemployment issue. How can the College deal with unemployment and give the people the opportunity to empower themselves if it is through skills, obtaining the necessary academic qualification to become more employable... (Manager 2).

PROFESSIONALIZATION

The section below looks at interviewees' understanding of professionalization. These correspond with some of the definitions of professionalisation in Chapter 2.

All three managers spoke of professionalization as a way of improving service delivery for AET sector through providing improved staff benefits and thus ensuring that the sector recruits 'suitably qualified' staff and is able retain them. Manager 2 said that;

> Moving towards permanency for the Adult Lecturers … will ensure better service delivery to the communities. The challenge we had in the past is people [adult educators] were unemployed teachers, [and] the moment they find employment they leave the sector. You have invested in them, training and so on, although the training is never lost it will be invested somewhere … And we must start training people again and then you struggle to find suitably qualified people. But now with the

> prospect of the benefits we are getting suitably qualified people in the system.

Two respondents viewed professionalization as a mind shift and an attitude which informs behavioural change in terms of appearance, punctuality, and preparedness. Manager 3 explained that this mind shift involves an awareness that things have changed and the manner one executes the roles should demonstrated that.

> Part of that professionalization is more an attitude, it's a shift – a mind shifts in terms of the space we are operating in now, as compared to how we were operating in the past and it has to do with norms and values. When you talk about professionalization it must link to how you see yourself and how you're executing your duties: did you plan ahead? Do you make it interesting? Are you speaking to the issues of the community because it shows how you're connecting to them?

A recurring theme where professionalization was concerned was the correlation between qualification and quality service.

> We value our students, they are our *end users*, they are *our clients*, and they need to get the best possible *product* out there. Of course, teaching in community colleges is different from teaching in mainstream and therefore need people that are specifically trained in terms of what our students need.

Some respondents added that professionalization was linked to security of tenure including support and continuous staff and personal development. One centre manager said:

> Well, I do think you should have a security of tenure, you need to know the conditions of employment, and the staff need to be properly supported. It is not easy for people to keep passionate if they don't know if they are going to have a job next year. That's not good and that's what has been happening in our sector. I believe you need to build up skills and qualifications. Not necessarily all at one go, you can build the skills and qualifications doing short courses and workshops. That's how I built my knowledge over the years (Centre Manager 3).

Centre Manager 3 also viewed professionalization as being committed to be a lifelong learner and self–directed, and to creating one's own career pathway as an educator. But these must be driven and supported by the employer (DHET) which respondents said was not happening. Centre manager 1 stated:

> I was thinking about how we are trained, in-service training. If you look at the high schools, they attend training frequently [but there is] very few in our sector, it bothers me. I am looking at the curriculum for example CAPS, the department were looking for High school teachers to teach CAPS in the evenings, what happens to the daytime classes? Where are we going to get ABET lecturers with CAPS training, if the sector does not offer that training itself? And for other learning areas in ABET there is one or two standard setting workshops at the beginning of the year.

The centre manager of CLC 2 argued that professionalism on the part of the DHET was lacking, especially when compared to other education sectors. Her statement covered broad issues including working conditions, resources that are dedicated to AET, the training of educators, infrastructure, and issues of safety:

> What comes to my mind is that professionalism had been lacking, in the past. It is something I want government to focus on. When you look at the conditions of employment you can never say these are professionals, these people that are employed to work in ABET. They have no benefits, and they work under difficult conditions, I know this is something that they are working on. We always thought that ABET is treated more like a stepchild of education. As I said you look at this place that is catering for adult education. Instead of building it first, people were thrown in this area before it was fixed. That shows a lack of professionalism…They did not prepare for us.

This centre had been one of the most popular centres in the townships as mentioned in Chapter 4. Previously, under the provincial education department, the centre had rented a school from a Catholic organisation but with the introduction of CETCs, the centre was moved to an unused primary school in another area. None of the infrastructure that was there was suitable for adults.

Professionalization was also linked to conditions of service. Some of the issues that frustrated the centre manager included lack of safety measures, considering that the CLC is located where robbery happens on a daily basis. In fact, the CLC was broken into on the first week of their relocation.

> Security: you see us carrying laptops, we don't know when we are going to be robbed, I am not talking about us outside the yard, I'm talking about inside. I am sure you just walked in with no one asking where you are going. This area is gang infested as you know, even learners … are not safe within the school (Centre Manager 1).

Three respondents mentioned that with professionalization also comes financial security that was not there before the transition. Lecturers used to be paid only for 10 of the 11 months they worked in a year. With the current contracts, most lecturers have salaries for a year. According to one lecturer:

> We used to get paid between end February and end November and for two months I would stress, if it wasn't for my partner, brother and daughter I would not have a nice Christmas. I used to get paid R3200 because I was paid an hourly rate and could not save for when I was not getting a salary. This was for five to six years! They used to get away with that. For two years now I'll be paid from January to December! I used to stress because I could not pay rent. Now I can buy a house, open accounts etc… (Lecturer 1).

Although this is an improvement from the paid-on claim working conditions, it has inadvertently given more power to centre managers. Now it rests on centre managers to give lecturers contracts as DHET renews contracts annually. Two centre managers stated that they withhold contracts when they were not satisfied with lecturers' conduct, performance or attitude.

Financial security is linked to benefits:

> But of course, there are needs of the lecturers, they have a right first, [to be] paid good salaries, have access to medical aid and things like that. Those are basic things an employee requires in order to execute the duties and you cannot be making demands without these. (Manager 3)

Although the new working conditions are still precarious, they have improved, as in guaranteed salaries they exclude benefits as most lecturers are employed on ad-hoc basis.

For Manager 2, professionalization means recognising the lecturer's rights to unionize for fair pay, and improved working conditions:

> It's not only about the self, but you also know you cannot look at yourself outside of the environment you work in… lecturers have realised they need to unionise themselves and, in some centres, you find a stronger presence of union activities. That is also good because there is nothing wrong with that, people need a voice because you do not want lecturers distracted…there must be someone to speak on lecturers' behalf … .

Manager 1 also explained that the first step DHET undertook a staff verification to ensure both student and staff numbers and eliminate ghost and pensionable employees. Other lecturers mentioned that they had register with the South African Council of Educators (SACE).

> Nothing is better when it comes to salaries. It is painful what the department is doing to us…The department has not given us any raise, we are qualified now, and all of us here have a SACE membership.

This also linked to the process of professionalisation as mentioned by Jarvis and Brown et.al which include establishment of minimum qualifications and membership of professional organisation.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has focussed on the purpose of adult education and training as evidenced through a selection of lecturers' life and career histories. It has also highlighted these adult educators' training profile and length of service, their career trajectories, the challenges that they face, and lecturers' suggestions about transformation of learners and professionalisation.

The career trajectories of this group of lecturers seem to be similar as mentioned by Brown et al (2012) and Shanahan et al (1994:1) that very few adult educators choose adult education as their first choice even when it is their first job, namely afterwards, chance entry and double parking. Several respondents' life experience led them to adult education, and they see their work as helping or contributing to society. As such they go an extra mile in understanding their students' life histories and supporting them. The lecturers are not trained to provide psych-social support but are able to through the support of experienced colleagues.

In addressing the question of perspectives on adult learning that inform their views on the transition, lecturers emphasised the goal of personal transformation of learners rather than broader social change, which spoke more to Mezirow's rather than a Freire's transformative perspective. Some also viewed the current CLC curriculum is second-chance learning which aims to take students through the available learning pathways towards either further study or better employment – an approach that has elements of the human capital approach. There was a shared recognition that emotional issues such as trust, connectivity, acceptance, motivation and so on need to be attended to for real learning to happen.

The views of the manager respondents in this study on professionalization centred on 'professional behaviour' and improving quality of service whilst lecturers on the other hand linked professionalization to opportunities for growth and development, security of tenure and worker's rights. According to those interviewed the current working conditions and conditions of service of teaching staff were unsafe and precarious even though there were many expectations laid on the lecturers and the sector. Additionally, there was an almost corporate approach linked to the work, evident in use of words such as 'services' and 'end user' which could change the lecturers' attitudes and ethics of care to a focus on outputs. There was no mention of aspects like building a common occupational identity, power and autonomy or

shared values and norms, although issues of power and identity were raised in other parts of the interviews, and it was clear in terms of shared values and norms that these lecturers were very dedicated to assisting and empowering their learners in 'individual growth' ways.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This research focussed on understanding the experiences and perspectives of a selection of role players in Western Cape's Community College sector following the transition from Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCS) to Community Education and Training Colleges (CETCs). The research involved role players located at different levels of the new institutionalised CETCs, namely managers that lead and support and provide guidance to the college, centre managers and lecturers. While the focus was on their experiences and perspectives, other concerns were to see the bigger picture of capacity building for the CETC at local level.

ROADMAP OF THE RESEARCH

Van Rooy (2001:62) states that to understand adult education programmes one needs to locate practices within the socio-cultural context which the first chapter focused on. The first chapter provided the local historical context within which adult education developed at different periods of South African history, leading to the 2013 and subsequent developments which have been the focus of this research.

The main question guiding this research was: What are the perspectives and experiences of different role players in the Adult Learning Sector as the Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCs) transition into Community Education and Training Colleges (CETCs)

Sub Questions were:

1. What are Managers and Lecturers' experiences during the transition from PALCs to CETCs?
2. What Managers and Lecturers perspectives on the purposes of adult learning are reflected in the transition from the PALCs to CETCs
3. How do perspectives on CETCs reflect different approaches of professionalization?

Chapter 2 located the research questions against the backdrop of the literature in the field, and different conceptual models of the purpose of adult education. The second chapter was in three parts; the first looked at different and competing theoretical frameworks that have been associated with different views on the purpose of adult education; namely human capital theory, transformative learning theory and the humanist perspective. The second part looked at literature on the professionalization of adult educators, including definitions as well as a case study of problems that arose from professionalization of adult educators in Portugal. Professionalization is a current topic amongst adult educators internationally, and with the introduction of legislation governing the minimum requirements for qualifications of lecturers who teach in the adult education, this has also become important in South Africa.

The third chapter looked at the research methods, which was based on interviews with three different kinds of role players within the government funded adult education sector as it transitioned from PALCs to CETCs. I also used policy documents for background information and to understand the transition.

The fourth and fifth chapter reported the findings of the research. This chapter will:

- discuss the findings with regard to each of the research sub-questions.
- relate some of the findings back to the literature
- tease out some of the contradictions that have emerged, that seem to characterise the transition; and
- draw tentative conclusions.

SYNTHESIS OF FINDINGS

The following section focuses on managers' and centre managers' perspectives on the impact of policy and institutional changes on managers and lecturers.

SUB-QUESTION 1: WHAT ARE MANGERS AND LECTURERS' EXPERIENCES OF THE TRANSITION FROM PALCS TO COMMUNITY EDUCATION AND TRAINING COLLEGES?

As noted in Chapter 4, the transition was meant to build capacity within the Adult Education and Training sector, following findings that the PALCs had failed to address the needs of adults and unemployed or out-of-school youths. The managers' perspectives focussed on the need to build capacity in line with the White Paper for Post-School Education and Training of 2013 (WP-PSET) and the CET Act 2006, were saying.

The transition from being administered by Provincial Education Departments to being administered by DHET combined with the changes in nomenclature for the institutions, practitioners and constituencies signalled an intended change of status for AET.

According to Larney (2006:60) governing bodies were introduced in 1997 to ensure accountability of PALCs and to ensure compliance with policies. However, these governing bodies were blamed for employing unqualified staff and underpaying them. Thus, the centralization of governance through the establishment of College Councils aimed to address these issues. However, since there is only one Council for each Community College (for example Western Cape the Community Council governs 109 CLCs) most lecturers felt that the Council has moved closer to management and is not easily accessible to staff. Although an improvement to community-based governing, the new governance structure has created a 'broken telephone' effect as lecturers have to communicate their grievances through many layers of management.

Centralization of funds has meant that there is one bank account for all CLCs in the Western Cape, from which CLCs requisition for their different needs. The CLC have no control over funds raised. This has undone the autonomy that was afforded to PALCs by the ABET Act of 2000 to fundraise and to manage their own funds. Respondents from the previously self-sustaining or independent CLCs felt these changes 'pulled them back' and were unfair, and that they had forced one CLC to close. Even with the transition, where Colleges have been able to access different sources of funding, funding had not filtered down to the CLCs.

The DHET, as part of the transition, renamed existing departments for example, the Education Management and Development Centres have been renamed Community Education Training Branches, and are intended to support CLCs with governance issues and curriculum advice. One of the managers believed that this meant that public adult education had 'some leverage' or priority within the DHET. However, there is no clear indication of what kind of leverage the CET branch has had for either the community college and/or the CLCs, as Manager 1 had anticipated. CET branches work within districts but even so, the capacity of districts is over-stretched in terms of providing the amount of support that is needed.

The managers also understood that the transition had changed the context in which the CLCs functioned. This referred to new pressures on centres or centre managers to be innovative in responding to the needs of the communities. This innovation is supposed to extend to forming partnerships with civil society organisations and government departments. At the time of the interviews there was only one CLC that was working with its community in a relationship that seemed to be mutually supportive.

The respondents saw the move towards greater collaboration as a positive change. It would ensure that the role of CETCs goes beyond offering basic education and to being responsive to the growing number of younger constituencies. The participants viewed the youth focus as a positive change which has created an opportunity for intergenerational learning.

The role of CETCs was seen by some respondents as including the creation of learning pathways that will support students who would like to continue to other post-school institutions, as well as providing skills for employment. However, the CLCs in this study seem to be offering only basic education and learnerships (skills training) offered by SETAs on an adhoc basis. The apparent adhoc-ness of skills training and the absence of non-formal and informal offerings at the CLCs researched in Cape Town is contrary to the commitment to provide non-formal and informal skills as mentioned in different policies. More so as two of CLCs that were providing these courses are no longer offering them, as one closed down and the other moved to smaller premises that could not accommodate equipment to offer skills training. The two centre managers of the affected centres felt they were pulled back as they were "already functioning as a community college" responding the needs of their communities.

As mentioned earlier, the transition was intended to address some of the failings of the PALCs, including the inadequacy of teacher qualifications. Hence the introduction of the minimum requirements for qualifications for lecturers, to enable them to meet the new role of the CETCs. Although managers spoke of staff development, the lecturers interviewed reported attending standard setting or moderation workshops, and many continue to teach at the CLCs without any of the new adult education qualifications.

Roadshows that spoke of the coming transition from PALCs to CETCs promised changes in terms of better resources and infrastructure, funding and own premises for CLCs. However, for some lecturers, there was disappointment and pain as they had not been paid for many months during the transition period. From the interviews it seems very little has improved in terms of conditions of service, the duration for requisitioning of resources takes longer, there are no new resources for CLCs especially those that still use other school's premises, and although the policy speaks of accommodating disabled students, there is no infrastructure to accommodate them.

SUB-QUESTION 2: WHAT ARE DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVES ON THE PURPOSES OF ADULT LEARNING IN THE CONTEXT OF THE NEW CETCs?

The policy documents and interviews with managers, centre managers and lecturers, straddled between two perspectives reviewed in Chapter 2 on the purposes of adult learning, namely human capital theory (education contribute to a country's economic growth and development) and humanist learning theory the (belief that learning is a personal act to fulfil one's potential). The White Paper on PSET (2013: 20) noted how historically, adult education in South Africa had contributed to social change and social justice and argued that this orientation should be recreated within the new institutions. However, according to Manager 1, no transformation-oriented education has existed in any state funded adult education since the 1980s or early 1990s. There did not seem to be consensus amongst respondents as to whether a transformative orientation was present in the new CLCs in the greater Cape Town area: one participant believed it was inherent in all subjects taught, while others believed that it could be accommodated within the non-formal course offerings of the

CLCs. However, as reported by some interviewees, these non-formal courses were not being offered at the time of the interviews. Furthermore, there was no evidence of a transformative approach to education as referred to by Baatjes and Mathe (2004:398).

> At the heart of education for transformation, to enable people to share, dialogue about their experiences, their strengths, the injustices and take collective action. Emancipatory education then is centrally concerned with raising consciousness that will help learners develop a critical understanding of their society and awareness of how to change it. (Baatjes and Mathe, 2004:398).

The views of the managers interviewed was that the role of the community college was to provide students with opportunities for further education to gain skills as entrepreneurs and to access employment opportunities. These speak to a human capital-oriented perspective, but even this perspective is not supported because there is limited allocation of DHET funds to develop a curriculum that supports this need or outcome. Hence the reliance on collaboration with SETAs, NGOs, other post-school institutions and different government departments such as the Department of Labour and Public Works to access resources to offer skills training.

A humanist perspective came through strongly when the lecturers spoke of their students and their teaching. Some of the lecturers spoke of motivating students again and again to stay at school and overcome the daily challenges they faced. Others spoke of the need for additional support for old and younger students, as illustrated by the stories of Lecturers 1 and 5 in Chapter 5. A humanist perspective was also visible in the way lecturers recognised that emotions played a big role in learning, in the way they spoke of trust as important, and generally their ethos of care. This ethos of care on the part of lecturers at CLCs, is also mentioned by Rule et al (2016) study on investigating efficacy in adult learning centres:

> It (ethos of care) was reflected more widely in the centre's concern for "second chance" learners whose experience of the schooling system had been one of failure and disappointment. Centres help these learners to "pick up the pieces", not just academically but also socially and emotionally. Counselling and peer support further expressed this ethos. (Rule et al, 2016:12).

Although this research did not include students as research participants, there is a glimpse of who they are through the eyes of the Lecturers 1 and 5, which also reveals the need for lecturers to be motivators and counsellors. This speaks to Maslow's (1970) humanist belief that learning and education has elements of psychotherapy and is a step towards self-actualization. Similarly, a point that was raised by Centre Manager 2 is that as students reach Level 4, whether they fail or pass, personal transformations was visible, and she added that some of her students had moved from being domestic workers to becoming professionals.

Although a number of the lecturers 'stumbled accidentally' into this profession, it is not simply a 'job' for them – it is a calling, and they see themselves as being needed. They are very strongly motivated – passionate in fact. It is not simply a 'bus stop' on the way to something better. In spite of the difficulties in the adult education sector such as temporary and insecure contracts, non-payment or delayed payment of salaries, inadequate learning materials and resources, and an absence of departmental support in public centres, the resilience and staying power of such committed educators is a sign of hope for the system (Rule et al, 2016:9).

SUB-QUESTION 3: WHAT WERE THE ROLE-PLAYER'S PERSPECTIVES ON DIFFERENT APPROACHES OF PROFESSIONALIZATION?

As shown in Chapter 2, professionalization has been defined in different ways, including as a strategy used to enhance the quality of service, practice, the public status of the job or as rhetoric employed by members of an occupation seeking to improve its status, salary and conditions (Brown et al, 2012:12). Different authors also asserted that through qualifications members of an occupation are socialised into certain occupational values, norms, beliefs and an occupational identity. The purpose of professionalisation has been associated with ensuring control over entry and creation of professional organisations. Forsythe et al (1985) emphasise that occupations 'own' their professionalization process by ensuring that members exercise power over their work, control over entry requirements by choosing suitable professional development for their work, setting occupational standards and developing ethical codes

The Government Gazette (2015:13) specified a set of minimum requirements aimed at raising the quality of AET educator and CET lecturer qualifications and ensuring that these qualifications contributed to their professionalisation. Both Baatjes and Mathe (2004) and Rule et al (2016) speak to the variety of adult educator's qualifications and the fact that they are entering the field at different stages of their careers (see Table 3, page 57 with information on the qualifications of those lecturers interviewed as it supports this point). Baatjes and Mathe (2004) and Aitchison (2003) argue that a lack of formal qualifications has partly contributed to failure and dropout rates in the sector. Lecturers 4 also spoke of the dropout rates which at worst, equals 50% of student numbers by end of the year.

The transitioning process from PALCs to CETCs included verification of student enrolment and staff, lecturer registration and setting norms and standards as mentioned in Chapter 5 as well as introduction of new qualifications. This correlates with the process that both Brown et al (2012) and Jarvis (1983) described as a process of professionalization whilst Brown et al (2012) links the introduction of a qualification to government-led professionalization: "the use of regulation through legislative minimum qualifications as well as professional development in the form of formal courses that lead to professional qualifications and professional networks" (Brown et al, 2012:3).

In the context of South Africa and the Adult Education sector, the new, policy driven professionalization process was welcomed by the lecturers that were interviewed as it promised a degree of financial security not guaranteed before. However, professionalization does not seem to have brought security of tenure as the lecturers interviewed are still employed on one to two years contracts without any benefits.

The narrative of policy-driven professionalization is viewed as a means to build capacity and/or to improve service. In this research it was stated by management that the lecturers were 'inadequately qualified' and both the WP-PSET and the report by the Task Team also hold this view. The task team report (Potgieter-Gqubule et.al) argues that the lack of appropriate qualifications was a result of:

> Generally insufficient supply of trained practitioners (partly because of insufficient practitioner development institutions), poor career prospects (partly because of the way formal schooling bureaucracies manage staffing of adult education), and, particularly for the lower-level practitioners, poor conditions of service

Although necessary, the emphasis on qualifications as an entry requirement to teach in the CETCs, opens up opportunities to other educators with suitable qualifications over the committed and experienced adult educators.

The respondents' views on professionalization can be summarised as: an attitude towards work, performance, staff development, quality of service and safety and security of tenure - all of which do not currently exist according to the those interviewed. Although the lecturers are bound by DHET norms and standards as are all educators in both basic and post school institutions, CET lecturers' experiences differ immensely when it comes to working conditions, staff development, safety and security of tenure.

According to those interviewed the working conditions and conditions of service are unsafe and precarious even though there are many expectations laid on the lecturers and the sector. Additionally, there is an almost corporate approach linked to the work, evident in use of words such as 'services' and 'end users' which could change the lecturers' attitudes and move the focus from an ethics of care to a focus on outputs.

Although the respondents' views on professionalisation included some aspects mentioned in the literature in chapter 2, they did not mention the socialisation aspects of a qualification or training.

> Building specialised knowledge and skills, incorporating a sense of occupational identity, internalizing the norms of the profession and adapting the values and norms into individual behaviour and self-concept (Bierema, 2011:29).

However, looking at both Rule et al (2016) recognition of the ethos of care of the adult educators and the humanist approach to teaching evidenced in this, these values can be seen as distinctive attributes of these adult educators, which could form a future basis of professional identity.

Hopefully, with the pursuit of qualifications, what Abbots says about qualifications stand true, "academic knowledge legitimises professional work by clarifying its foundations and tracing them to major cultural values… Academic professionals demonstrate the rigor, the clarity, and the scientifically logical character of professional work …" so much that the lecturers are able to deliver any curriculum based on any theoretical framework.

Policy driven professionalisation tend to focus mostly on qualifications motivated largely by other factors such as economy and political factors thus overlooking interests of the educators. The case study on Portugal and a study by Brown et al (2012) illustrated this, hence Snoek (2012:4) suggests educators undertake professionalisation project, developing professional autonomy – ensuring members have power over their work, control over entry requirements by choosing suitable professional development for their work, set occupational standards and develop ethical codes.

Contradictions

There are contradictory aspects to relocating adult education within the Higher education sector. On the one hand, government has changed the location of AET and its nomenclature to reflect its new location as part of higher education landscape, however its status is ambiguous. In contrast to universities that have a degree of autonomy over their own finances, and curriculum, Community Colleges seem to be tightly controlled, especially considering *centralised control.* Meanwhile, CLC's are also supposed to be responsive to local, community needs - but how can they do this if decision-making and resources are centralised? CLCs are also supposed to take on new, complex responsibilities to be responsive to youth, while at the same time they have suffered a loss of capacity and loss of resources. The one upside to this is that this has necessitated the forging of new partnerships, and hence 'thinking outside of the box'.

It was shown earlier that the policy documents on CETCs envisage their purpose as reflecting all three theoretical approaches to adult learning: human capital, transformative and humanist. It is quite contradictory to have all three of these approaches to the purposes of adult education, within one sector. In reality, the human capital approach has tended to be prioritised because it draws the most resources. However, I argue that this ought to be reversed with priority being given to a humanist learning approach foundation, especially when looking at the constituencies that CET sector attracts, because any broader transformational outcome needs to start with change at the individual level.

CONCLUSION

Over the years different policies in South Africa attempted to improve access to adult education, with each policy change aiming to correct previous policy's shortcomings. Similarly, to Portugal, these policies were focussed on issues of economy and politics. However, there was no uniformity in how the changes were implemented, resulting in some provinces paying their teachers better, and some PALCS being able to provide more courses than others. In this respect, the centralization of both governance and funding in the transition of PALCs to CETCs makes sense.

The focus on community needs is not new in the ABET policy narrative; it was also mentioned in the ABET Act 52 of 2000 and seems to be emphasised in the CET Act of 2006. However, the limited evidence in this study suggests that the CLCs are responding mainly to the second-chance learning needs of the communities, rather than broader community needs. The only way that the CETCs are able to meet other needs such as skills development is through collaborations with SETAs, different government departments and other post-school institutions that are able to offer skills courses. Although the provision of non-formal skills training as a function of CLCs is clear in policy, for the managers and centre managers in this study, there does not seem to be a plan that would ensure these opportunities are provided consistently at community college provincial level. It has been suggested by the Task Team led Potgieter-Gqubule (2012) that a popular or transformative education approach should be adopted by informal courses.

Transformative or popular education in South Africa has straddled education and politics without striking a balance between the two, and over the years issues of race and culture within adult education have remained. Hopefully, with the development of new qualifications for lecturers in CETCs that focus on transformative education, lecturers will be able to find balance and "help learners develop a critical understanding of their society and awareness of how to change it" (Baatjes et.al 2004).

In conclusion, this research has demonstrated the resilience found amongst staff of the CLCs, and an understanding of second–chance education that translates to more than formal learning, but which also leads towards self-discovery and self-commitment. In considering the type of students attending the CETCs, this

recognition of students as people needing emotional as well as academic support is an important contribution made by dedicated lecturers in the CETCs.

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